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Facing New Slump, US Toughens Its Trade Position

By Amy Kaslow

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

AS the nation's prospects for a strong recovery from recession fade and its trade deficit widens, Washington is getting tougher against trade partners who compete unfairly against United States producers.

According to Commerce Department data released last week, growth in the nation's output of goods and services fell to 1.8 percent in the first quarter of this year, a figure less than half that from the last three months of 1992.

Washington policymakers worry that recession abroad will further dampen demand for US exports – a major contributor to US economic growth – and make foreign suppliers even more aggressive in their drive for US market share.

Defending the Clinton administration's trade policy as a way to "open markets ... grow this economy ... and build jobs," US Trade Representative (USTR) Mickey Kantor took a broad swipe at major US trade partners on Friday.

CLINTON'S TRADE POLICY

He cited dozens of countries for ignoring US patent and copyright laws on US products. "You're literally stealing someone's property and you're taking American jobs," he said of the violations, which he claimed cost US manufacturers billions of dollars in lost sales.

Mr. Kantor also took particular aim at Japan, which accounts for over 60 percent of the US trade deficit, for discriminating against US contractors in its multibillion-dollar public works market. The USTR pledged to retaliate against Tokyo if it fails to lower trade barriers within 60 days, just as he recently vowed to take action against the European Community for its closed telecommunications-equipment market.

At a Monitor breakfast on Friday, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown said "we're trying to send some very clear signals that we need a new trade policy [and] we will use whatever tools that are at our disposal to ensure changes come."

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US Talks Tough on Bosnia, But Action May Be Too Late

US reasserts its leadership in West by pushing for airstrikes to end civil war

By Peter Grier

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE Balkans civil war now seems poised between a promise of peace and the threat of United States military intervention.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic finally has signed onto a peace plan drawn up by international mediators Lord David Owen and Cyrus Vance **(Serb reaction, below).** At the same time, Secretary of State Warren Christopher is touring European capitals, soliciting support for more-forceful measures – including limited US air strikes – to curb Bosnian Serb aggression.

Whether Mr. Karadzic's signature will make Secretary Christopher's trip pointless remains to be seen. Pieces of paper have meant little in the former Yugoslavia so far. But whatever happens next in the bitter Balkans conflict, it has already been long and hard enough to leave permanent scars on Europe's physical and political landscape:

■ Much of Bosnia has been destroyed or ethnically "cleansed" of Muslims by Bosnian Serb aggressors. With Serbs controlling some 70 percent of the country, they are now talking terms in a war they have largely won.

US-led airstrikes may be able to save Muslim refugees, but it is more difficult to see how any action by the West can return more than a small portion of what Muslims have lost.

PASCAL GUYOT/AFP

COST OF WAR: *A refugee from Srebrenica, Bosnia, bursts into tears upon her arrival in Tuzla with some 2,000 fellow refugees. Many Western experts believe that Serb fighters have won so much ground that US airstrikes will not result in much land being returned to Muslims.*

A visitor to Bosnia 18 months ago could still see intact cities in the hinterlands, says Daniel Nelson, a professor at Old Dominion University and former foreign policy adviser to the House of Representatives leadership. "Now there's rubble," says Mr. Nelson, who traveled through the former Yugoslavia in April.

■ Western Europe's security relationship with the US seems to have reverted to its cold-war type. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union, many European leaders felt US security leadership was no longer so necessary. Hundreds of thousands of US troops could leave NATO bases; a united Europe would handle more of its own geopolitical affairs.

But Europe has merely squabbled over what to do in ex-Yugoslavia. The cliche "fiddling while Rome burns" has been invoked by more than one US official. As it did during the

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Wary of West, Bosnian Serb Signs Plan

By Jonathan S. Landay

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

BOSNIAN Serb leader Radovan Karadzic's decision yesterday to sign the international peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina seems to provide little cause for celebrating an end to the war.

"It will take more than a signature on a peace plan to convince the international community that the Bosnian Serbs are serious and acting in good faith," noted United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher in a statement released in London.

Such apprehensions appear well-grounded. Members of Mr. Karadzic's leadership openly concede they will not implement the plan and abandon their goal of carving out a self-declared state and anchoring it to the Serb-dominated rump Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro.

The immediate aim of Karadzic and his patron, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Western diplomats say, is to stave off a growing threat of foreign military intervention by exploiting differences over such action within Western capitals and the United Nations. They are also anxious to end UN sanctions against rump Yugoslavia that were tightened last week, accelerating a galloping economic collapse.

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Officials focus on quiet diplomacy in a bid to thwart Asian nation's secret nuclear program.
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Women Politicians Gain Office
Half of Connecticut's congressional delegation is female, putting it in the nation's top five.
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NATIONAL SERVICE PLAN ANNOUNCED

President Clinton Saturday vowed to "work my heart out" to create new jobs, open college to more people, and overhaul health care, even as a Newsweek poll shows most Americans think he's trying to do too much. On Friday in New Orleans, Mr. Clinton had called for sweeping changes in the federal student-loan program and offered a national service plan that would attract participants by offering them up to $10,000 in college-tuition credits for two years of community service. His plan envisions 150,000 youths enrolled in the program by 1997.

Deportees end protest

Palestinian deportees in southeast Lebanon trudged back to their tent camp in the rain yesterday, ending a week-long outdoor sit-in to protest resumption of Arab-Israeli peace talks in Washington. Abdul-Aziz Rantisi, spokesman for the nearly 400 exiles, said strong winds and heavy rains overnight made it impossible to continue the protest. The 396 exiles have been stranded between Israeli and Lebanese Army lines since Israel expelled them Dec. 17 in retaliation for the slaying of six Israeli troopers last year.

Chad admits killings

The Chadian government has admitted its secret service killed unarmed villagers in the south, confirming reports by human rights organizations of a massacre early this month. Over 100 people were slaughtered in the massacre April 5, human rights groups have said. In a television broadcast last week, transitional Prime Minister Fidel Moungar said agents of the Center for Research and Intelligence Coordination involved in the killings had been arrested and would be tried. Human rights organizations had blamed President Idriss Deby's Republican Guard for the killings.

Clinton to S. Korea

President Clinton will visit Seoul in July for talks with President Kim Young Sam, South Korean news reports said yesterday.

Mr. Clinton was expected to visit Seoul July 9 for two days after attending the Group of Seven summit in Tokyo. Tension has grown on and around the Korean peninsula since March when North Korea announced it would rip up its copy of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty rather than allow inspection by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency of two suspected nuclear-weapons sites. **(World response, Page 7.)**

Oliver Tambo buried

The funeral of Oliver Tambo, architect of the African National Congress's decades-long struggle against apartheid in South Africa, took place yesterday under the shadow of a new massacre of whites by black gunmen. Saturday night, three black gunmen attacked the Highgate Hotel in the port city of East London with AK-47 assault rifles, killing five whites and wounding six other whites and a black barman. The ANC has appealed to its followers to honor Tambo by preventing any repeat of violence that followed the April 10 assassination of Communist Party leader Chris Hani by a white killer.

Better security in tennis

Christian Bimes, the new president of the French Tennis Federation, said there will be a reinforcement of security for the players in the French Open, the Grand Slam tournament starting May 24, following the knife attack on Monica Seles at the Citizen Cup in Hamburg Friday. Ms. Seles has won the last three women's titles but is now expected to miss this year's tournament. She was stabbed once in the back.

Kuwait-Moscow pact

Kuwait, stepping up defenses following the Gulf War, said yesterday it expected to sign a military pact with Russia. Defense Minister Sheikh Ali Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah said Saturday the Gulf emirate planned to dig a massive ditch to fortify its border with Iraq and might fill it with mines. The accord with Russia would be Kuwait's fourth concluded with a major military power since the 1991 war that ended Iraq's seven-month occupation.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

Texas Swings to the Right in Vote For US Senate and School Reform

By Scott Pendleton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

AUSTIN, TEXAS

IN Saturday's stunning election results, Texans showed just how conservative the state has become by showering votes on Republican candidates and defeating a school-funding reform measure.

No candidate obtained a majority in the race to fill the United States Senate seat vacated by Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen. A runoff is expected in June between the top finishers, Republican Kay Bailey Hutchison and Democrat Bob Krueger.

Ms. Hutchison, the Texas treasurer, is her party's highest state officeholder. She finished first with 29 percent of the vote. Also at 29 percent, but a few hundred votes behind Hutchison, was Mr. Krueger, appointed by Gov. Ann Richards (D) to be interim senator.

Third and fourth places went to two Republicans, US Reps. Joe Barton and Jack Fields. Their 14 percent showings put the GOP total over 57 percent, reinforcing the trend in which Texans vote Democrat in local elections but fill national offices with Republicans.

Democrat Richard Fisher, who helped write Ross Perot's campaign manifesto, "United We Stand," received just 8 percent of the vote. The United We Stand America, Inc., organization that Perot is building did not endorse any candidate, but Austin organizer Jason Powers predicted that it will make an endorsement in the runoff.

The turnout was low. Leading up to the election, the campaign was frequently eclipsed by the Waco standoff. And with 23 candidates running, the contest never came into focus. The only issue to draw attention was whether or not Hutchison whacks and pinches her employees on the arm when she is piqued.

Mr. Barton and Mr. Fields have pledged to support Hutchison, giving Democrats an uphill battle. The state's other senator is Republican Phil Gramm. A Hutchison runoff victory would mark the first time Texas has lacked a Democrat in the Senate. "This race is going to determine whether Texas has influence in Washington," Governor Richards said. It also may help determine whether President Clinton will be able to defeat GOP filibusters in the Senate.

Hutchison has predicted a bitter fight against Krueger, who called her a "country-club candidate." State Republican Party chairman Fred Meyer accused Krueger of talking conservatively in Texas and voting liberally in Washington. Both Hutchison and Krueger are moderates within their respective parties.

Yesterday state officials began conferring over what to do next about school funding following voters' rejection of Proposition 1 on Saturday. It was referred to as the "Robin Hood" amendment because it would have taken money from school districts with lots of high-value property and given it to nearby districts with low-value property. Low-value districts must set high tax rates but still are not able to provide as much money per pupil as wealthier districts.

Proposition 1 was intended to end two decades of court challenges over the inequality of property taxes within school districts and to head off a Texas Supreme Court threat to close Texas schools on June 1 unless an equitable funding system is enacted. Following its defeat, Libby Linebarger, the state representative who was the chief author of Proposition 1, predicted "chaos." Added Governor Richards: "We've got to go back to square one."

Brown: NAFTA Is Not Dead in Congress

WASHINGTON

RONALD BROWN, the secretary of commerce, says that President Clinton has not been discouraged by setbacks during his early days in office, including his inability to win congressional approval for his $16.3 billion stimulus package.

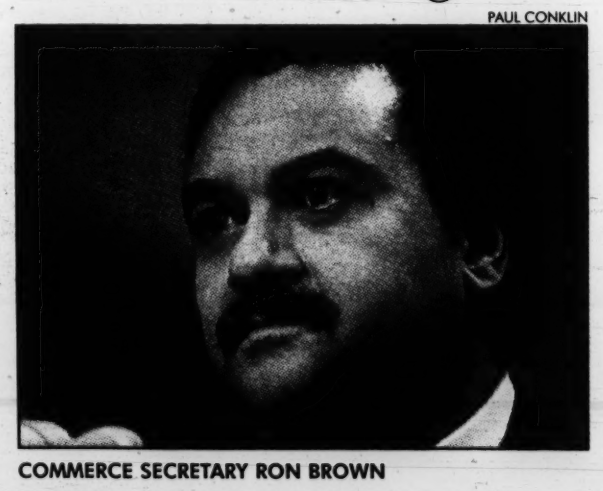
"Bill Clinton was born to be president. He is extraordinarily comfortable in the job, and he is extraordinarily confident in the job," Mr. Brown says. He adds that the White House is renewing its fight for a stimulus program to create jobs.

After a bumpy week for the Clinton administration, Brown, who is a former Democratic Party chairman, talked about politics, the United States economy, and international trade with reporters at a Monitor breakfast on Friday.

One of the top items on Brown's agenda is the California economy. "The situation is about much more" than last year's Los Angeles riots, he says. Brown's goal is to promote public- and private-sector investments in the state. "This is not just a run in and run out ... crisis-oriented plan," he says, but "a long-term effort."

Addressing the most problematic and promising aspects of US trade policy, Brown says revenues and jobs generated by US goods and services abroad "provide the greatest potential for economic growth in the American economy."

PAUL CONKLIN



COMMERCE SECRETARY RON BROWN

Just back from a trip to Tokyo, he stresses that "the $50 billion US trade deficit with Japan is unacceptable." The administration will push for "measurable results" in gaining US firms access to the Japanese market, he says.

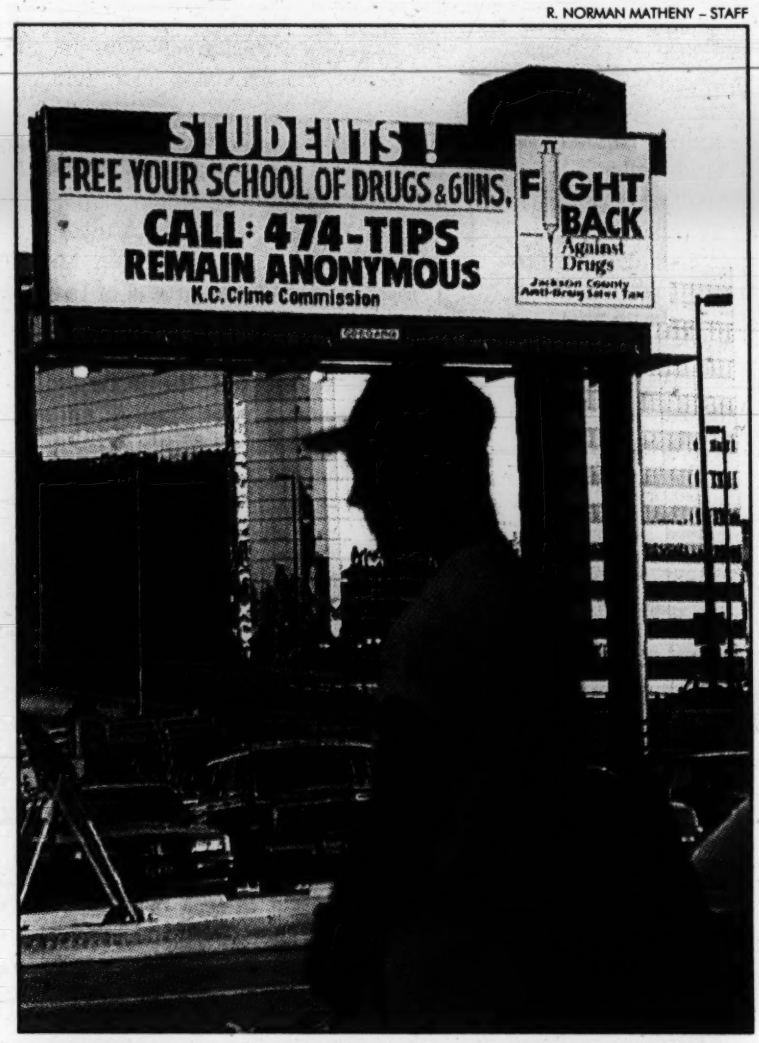
Brown strongly disagrees with Office of Management and Budget Director Leon Panetta's assessment that the North American Free Trade Agreement is virtually a "dead" issue in Congress. "We haven't even started on NAFTA," the commerce secretary says, adding that "supplemental agreements [on prickly labor and environmental issues] haven't even been negotiated yet."

– Amy Kaslow

US Drug Fight: The Focus Shifts To Home Front

Military tone of Bush 'drug war' to be replaced by quiet emphasis on treatment

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



BILLBOARD BATTLE: *Kansas City, Mo., like many US cities, is taking the drug fight to the streets, using billboards as a bully pulpit.*

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

FOUR years after it began, America's costly "war on drugs" has dropped off the front pages, even though cocaine and heroin are still tearing apart the fabric of cities like New York, Washington, and Los Angeles.

President Clinton, criticized for moving too slowly against the drug trade during his first 100 days, now promises to make combating illegal drugs a major priority. Narcotics can "ruin communities, threaten our children, ... and fill up our prisons with wrecked and wasted lives," he told reporters last week.

Sen. Joseph Biden Jr. (D) of Delaware, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, says that after the federal government has spent more than $38 billion to combat the drug epidemic since 1989, "the time is ripe to take advantage of the lessons learned."

The president, who has consulted closely with Senator Biden, vows to launch a newly directed, three-pronged effort against drugs. His top priorities will be:

■ Local police. Additional officers on the streets would be funded with $600 million in new federal monies in fiscal year 1994, which begins Oct. 1.

■ Drug education. Prevention efforts would be expanded, particularly among children, with an increased flow of federal dollars, Clinton says. The current $1.5 billion budget for that purpose would rise 16 percent.

■ Treatment for addicts. The present level of federal funding for drug treatment, $2.4 billion, would be increased by 10 percent in 1994. Biden would like treatment funds boosted by 45 percent.

Treating addiction

One of the big lessons Biden says America has learned is that treatment works, even though the payoff isn't immediately apparent. One reason the drug epidemic goes on and on, particularly among the most addicted, is that thousands get no help.

He says: "Today, 900,000 treatable hard-core addicts roam our streets. Since [1989], at least 1 million drug-addicted offenders were released from prison or jail without being treated."

The implications for the US are grave. Addicts are responsible for much of the spread of AIDS, as well as other communicable diseases. Their addictions also foster crime and violence in big cities and in smaller towns alike.

A number of experts urge that the focus of drug policy be turned away from some of the more controversial policies, such as destroying coca crops in the Andes region of South America.

Billions were spent on such international efforts, including military interdiction, during the Bush presidency.

LUKE FRAZZA/AFP

DRUG-CHIEF DESIGNEE: *Lee Brown specializes in close-contact foot-patrols that have cut big-city crime.*

Clinton now says: "It's time we turned our attention home."

The president's new chief anti-drug official, Lee Brown, is expected to do just that. Dr. Brown is an experienced law enforcement officer who has run police departments in Atlanta, Houston, and New York. Some say he could be a future candidate to head the FBI.

To show the importance he attaches to the drug issue, Clinton says that he will elevate Brown to Cabinet rank if he is confirmed by the Senate as the director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

Brown's specialty is community policing, the kind of close-contact, foot-patrol police work that has brought about a decline in the rate of crime in a number of America's most drug-plagued communities.

After years of an extremely expensive, get-tough, military-style, high-tech "drug war" during the Reagan-Bush era, experts say the struggle against narcotics now has entered a much quieter phase, but one that is still extremely important and possibly decisive.

There are several reasons to expect a more moderate tone in the 1990s, one of which is that Brown is a law enforcer, not a politician and advocate, such as the first so-called "drug czar," conservative Republican William Bennett.

Nor is all drug use still so widespread. Experts say the most feared drug, cocaine (including crack), has passed its peak, particularly among "casual" users. The number of recreational users of cocaine was estimated to have declined from over 22 million in 1985 to a little more than 12 million in 1991.

Drug policy expert Mark Kleiman, a Harvard University professor, says he is willing to speculate that "the number of heavy users [of cocaine] will [also] drop sharply between now and the end of the century....The drug problem will therefore command less public attention..."

No 'Desert Storm'

Yet the problem is far from over. As casual use has dipped, attention has begun to center on the hard-core addicts, many of whom live in the nation's embattled inner cities.

Some lawmakers, such as Sen. Orrin Hatch (R) of Utah, say problems of hard-core addiction now are also moving to rural areas in less-populated states, like his own, which many Americans had considered nearly immune to the scourge of narcotics.

Dr. Kleiman suggests such severe addiction will not be overcome with a the kind of feverish, media-hyped "drug war" seen in the 1980s. He explains:

"The [coming] effort to control drug abuse is not a Desert Storm. It is what President Kennedy called 'a long, twilight struggle.' It calls for patience rather than enthusiasm, endurance rather than animation, stamina rather than speed."

Nothing Funny About Clinton's Reply to Critics

EVEN when he's supposed to be funny, President Clinton can't help but defend his record during the first 100 days in office. At the 79th annual dinner of the White House Correspondents Association on Saturday night, for example, he offered a retort to critics who say he's off to a slow start.

The president reported that campaign chief James Carville had leaned across the head table to share some Southern folk wisdom. "He told me, 'If you never want to stumble, stand still,' " Mr. Clinton said. And then addressing himself to the reporters who cover his administration, he said: "You tell them when I stumble. But always tell them I'm not standing still."

At the dinner, Clinton also tossed a few quips at budget director Leon Panetta, who made news last week with a gloomy assessment of the administration's progress.

Saith the president: "My daughter Chelsea came to me and said that since she had been in Washington she no longer believed in the Easter Bunny, Santa Claus, or even the tooth fairy."

"I said, 'Did you learn all this at your fancy new school?' "

"She said, 'No, I had a long talk with Leon Panetta.' "

Mr. Panetta, seated at a table nearby, burst into laughter and Clinton said: "He's a good Catholic, but he just can't keep it straight when he's supposed to go to confession."

New civil rights policy

The Clinton administration may be continuing the policies of its predecessors in many areas, but in the legal arena, the differences between former President Bush and Clinton are crystal clear.

Mr. Bush's attorneys had argued that the 1991 Civil Rights Act doesn't apply to thousands of job-discrimination cases pending when the law was passed. The Clinton Justice Department, by contrast, filed a brief with the Supreme Court on Friday arguing that Bush's position was "both incorrect and contrary to the longstanding position of the government" on questions of retroactivity.

Six federal appeals courts have rejected retroactive use of the law. But the 9th US Circuit Court of Appeals, based in San Francisco, has said it should be applied to pending cases. The Supreme Court has agreed to use two job-bias cases to decide whether the law applies to cases that were pending when it took effect on Nov. 21, 1991. A decision is expected in 1994.

– Compiled by Max Boot

TRADE from page 1

On the books for years, many US trade laws are now likely to have their most rigorous application. Laura Tyson, chairwoman of President Clinton's Council of Economic Advisers, stresses the importance of "aggressive unilateralism," or the use of US trade laws "to deter or compensate for foreign practices that are not adequately regulated by existing multilateral trade rules."

But America's trade partners worry the US is arming itself with weapons that make all-out trade wars distinctly possible.

The European Commission's vice president, Henning Christophersen, who handles economic and monetary affairs for the European Community (EC), warns that if US consumer and business credit remains constrained, US lawmakers fail to slash the federal budget deficit, and demand for US exports in European and Japanese markets – crucial outlets for US exporters – continues to slacken, "we will see a renationalization along economic policy lines."

More-intense bilateral competition, he says, runs the risk that "the cold war will be followed by trade wars."

WHEN the EC issued its annual report on US trade barriers in mid-April, it criticized US protectionist trade measures legislated by Congress, such as "Buy America" national and state laws designed to close out foreign suppliers. "I don't think the US should believe that sanctions will lead to a softening of the European Community position," asserts Mr. Christophersen. "On the contrary," he says.

The US has elicited Japanese government pledges to help redress the trade imbalance by spending more and working out specific industrial problems on a sector-by-sector basis. But much of Japan's current trade surplus is due to its recession: Japanese businesses and consumers are buying less and Japanese manufacturers are anxious to unload their growing inventories on overseas markets. Japanese Embassy officials here said Tokyo "will retaliate" if the US imposes sanctions.

Sen. Max Baucus (D) of Montana, chairman of the Senate Finance Subcommittee on International Trade, is pushing to ressurect the so-called Super 301 law that expired in 1990.

This is "aimed at countries who resort to protectionism to exclude US exports ... and initiates trade negotiations under the threat of retaliation to eliminate trade barriers," says Mr. Baucus."Super 301 helps us stand up for our rights," he says.

A senior White House official strongly supports Baucus' initiative. "Super 301 should be used," he says. "But typically, we try to seek agreement on trade barriers within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [now in its seventh year of unresolved negotiations]. The preferred method is to do it multilaterally, but the framework doesn't exist."

A former Bush Administration trade official says Baucus believes "it's not whether you win or lose, it's how you play the game." But, he says, "like all retaliatory measures – whether they're nuclear weapons or trade instruments – they have to be used with some finesse. You can't go around bludgeoning people. It doesn't open markets, it closes doors, and you lose the market you're seeking."

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While the sanctions are unlikely to be lifted soon, Serbia's propaganda machinery can at least portray Mr. Milosevic and Karadzic as men of compromise and blame continued economic turmoil on the "anti-Serb" international community.

For those reasons, Karadzic and Milosevic are expected to prevail in winning approval of the plan Wednesday by the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament, which last week rejected the scheme authored by Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen to divide Bosnia into 10 largely autonomous, ethnic-based provinces.

But then what? Karadzic himself has expressed concern that he would be lynched by his own people if he implements the plan, which requires the Bosnian Serbs to relinquish 40 percent of the territory they have captured. The immediate aim, therefore, apparently is to preserve the status quo by freezing the situation on the ground, 70 percent of which is held by Bosnian Serbs.

That will mean a carbon-copy of what transpired in Croatia after the Milosevic-backed Serbian rebels agreed to a cease-fire plan with Zagreb that ended seven months of fighting.

The Croatia plan, authored by Mr. Vance, required Croatian Serbs to disarm, to disband their militias, to allow Croat refugees to return to their homes, and to drop the pretense of having an independent state in the 35 percent of Croatia they captured.

About 15,000 UN peacekeeping troops were deployed to protect Serb-held territories. But Croatian Serb leaders have done virtually nothing to implement the plan, aware that the international community will never agree to a partition of Croatia. Instead, they continue to act as a sovereign government behind the shield of UN forces.

Milosevic and Karadzic appear intent on gaining the same situation in Bosnia. Bosnian Serb leaders will contend that their people are endangered. They have already demanded the deployment of UN forces on the front lines.

"Nor will they go beyond symbolic disarmament," says a Western diplomat. "Like in Croatia, they will paint their tanks blue and call them police vehicles."

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cold war, the US has taken the lead, nudging and cajoling NATO nations toward tougher action than the Europeans themselves can agree on.

A byproduct of this back-and-forth is that the US and its allies have only sketchily discussed what their responsiblities would be if a Bosnian peace plan actually takes hold. "The issue of what international presence is needed hasn't really been thought through," says David Shorr, deputy director of BASIC, a European security information service.

It may need to be thought through soon. On Sunday, Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, reluctantly agreed to an international peace plan at last-ditch talks held outside of Athens. The Bosnian Serbs were the last holdouts to the plan, with both Muslims and Croats having signed it earlier.

Mr. Karadzic said his signature would not count if the self-styled parliament of Bosnian Serbs rejects the plan this week. But intense pressure has been building for Bosnian Serbs to agree to stop fighting. Economic sanctions are beginning to take effect in rump Yugoslavia, Karadzic's main ally. And the threat of US military action, theoretical for so long, has suddenly become real, with President Clinton vowing to take stronger action to end the Balkans civil war.

Britain backs airstrikes

At press time, it was not clear whether Karadzic's agreement would stave off US air strikes. Vice President Al Gore Jr. said yesterday on "Meet the Press": "We can hope that this is a breakthrough, but again, all we've seen is a signature. We have not seen real change." Thus military action still appears to be on the table.

Britain is ready to support a US policy of airstrikes against targets in the former Yugoslavia if the Bosnian Serbs try to back out of the peace deal signed Sunday. The British government is also willing to endorse the creation of safe havens for Muslims in Bosnia and to help protect them.

But British support for air strikes will be made heavily conditional on the Clinton administration spelling out in advance clear political objectives for the policy.

Prime Minister John Major also stressed that a final decision on whether to back airstrikes and commit British airplanes to the attack will have to wait until Wednesday, when the Bosnian Serbs' self-styled parliament is due to vote on whether to endorse the peace plan.

Lord Owen, the peace plan coauthor, said he felt the threat of air strikes wasn't the deciding factor in Karadzic's interim agreement. "Threats from outside if anything stiffen their resistance," he said after a negotiating session in Athens.

Britain is willing to back airstrikes against Serbs and safe havens for Bosnians – but not to lift the arms embargo for Muslims.

The key pressure, Owen held, was that applied by Slobodan Milosevic, the Serb leader of what remains of the Yugoslav nation. Owen claimed that Mr. Milosevic had finally cut back logistic support for Bosnian Serb fighters, who were beginning to feel the pinch in spare parts and fuel.

The Vance-Owen plan would split Bosnia into semi-autonomous provinces, each one dominated by a particular ethnic group. The Bosnian Serbs have resisted signing because the plan calls for them to give back about 40 percent of the territory they have already taken by force. In addition, Serb-dominated provinces would not be connected to Serbia itself – a situation that Karadzic has warned will simply lead to continued fighting.

In trying to force the Bosnian Serbs to abide by the peace plan, the key disagreement between the US and its European allies is over whether to arm Bosnia's Muslims.

Support for arms embargo

Prime Minister Major has firmly ruled out British backing for any move to relax the embargo against arming Bosnia's Muslims. A similar position on arming the Muslims was likely to be adopted by France, London officials said.

The British policy position was adopted after weeks of debate in which Cabinet ministers unanimously opposed arming the Muslims. A majority, according to Cabinet sources, reluctantly agreed to endorse air strikes against Serb supply lines if Clinton decided that was necessary. Creating safe areas for Muslim obtained a similar amount of support, the sources said, although some ministers are worried that this would require more British troops to be sent to Bosnia.

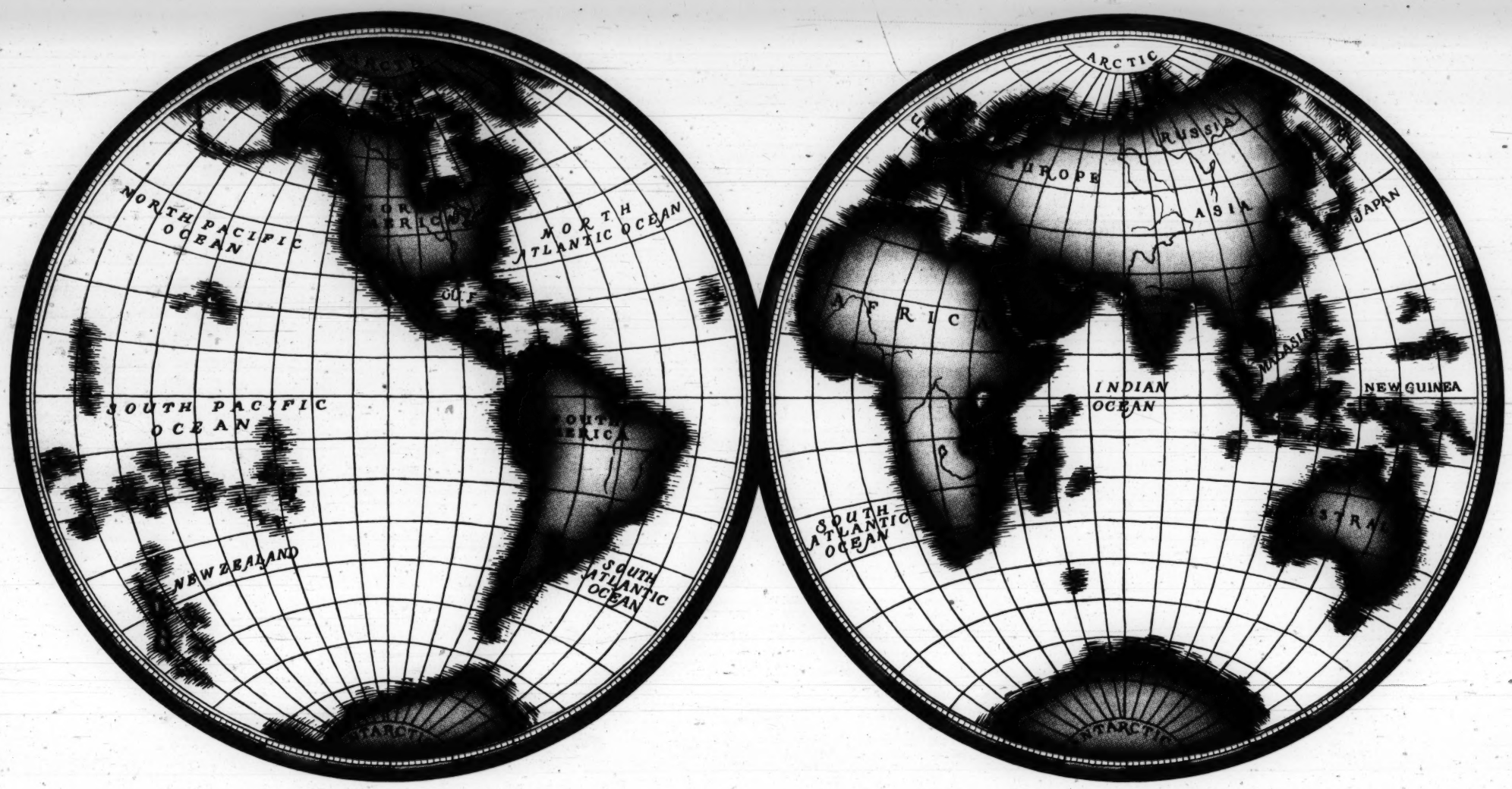
Much of the opposition to air strikes has come from Defense Minister Malcolm Rifkind. Military officials have told him that air power alone would have little effect on the ground, except to disrupt deliveries of food and other aid. Mr. Rifkind's arguments were similar to those used by Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff.

But Major overruled Rifkind and other opponents of air attacks when it became clear that a majority of the Cabinet endorsed the policy, however reluctantly. Before making his decision, Major consulted Owen, the European Community peace negotiator, who has spoken out in favor of surgical strikes against Serb supply routes.

One British Cabinet minister said yesterday that deciding between air attacks and arming the Muslims was "a choice between two evils."

■ *Alexander MacLeod contributed to this report from London.*

TEMPLETON WORLDWIDE



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INTERNATIONAL

Premier Is Held Above Law, and Italy Rages

Decision to protect a corruption-linked politician places reform in peril, and spurs resignations in brand new coalition government

LUCIANO MELLACE/REUTERS

CARLO AZEGLIO CIAMPI: *After a day in office, the Italian prime minister lost credibility when Parliament shielded a former premier from prosecution.*

By Richard L. Wentworth
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ROME

ITALY'S political crisis deepened over the weekend, following the surprise refusal by Parliament to allow investigating magistrates to try former Socialist Prime Minister Bettino Craxi on corruption charges.

The vote on Mr. Craxi, whom the magistrates describe as a central figure in the country's ongoing bribery and corruption scandal, weakened the new government of Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, placed a cloud over the magistrates' future investigations, outraged the Italian public, and spawned a series of important political moves, including protests against parliamentarians' immunity from prosecution.

President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, in an address during May 1 workers' celebrations, asked for approval to reform the electoral process of Parliament along the lines of the British system before the end of summer. Early elections, sought by opposition parties following the Craxi vote, would not be possible before then, he added, because a vote under the old system would betray the desire that Italians had expressed for such reform in a referendum last month.

In his announcement, the president tacitly embraced the electoral law proposed in the wake of the Craxi vote by parliamentarian Mario Segni, the champion of the referendum movement, which would do exactly what Mr. Scalfaro proposes.

"This is the only possible solution for the future," says Rocco Buttiglione, a reform-minded member of the Christian Democratic Party's 15-member managing board. "It's the task for the new government and this means that the new government should not last too long – for three or four months, the time needed to approve these new laws."

'I think it's the only thing we can do.'

– University student, in protest over Parliament's vote to shield Craxi

Further delay, he warns, could allow politicians bound to patronage and corruption to devise new strategies against reform.

Parliamentarians from the outgoing four-party coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats, and Liberals are believed to have voted heavily in Craxi's favor in the secret electronic balloting April 29.

On grounds that Craxi was being politically persecuted, the parliamentarians denied the judges the right to conduct searches for financial records in Rome, including at Craxi's home; to investigate charges of "aggravated and continued corruption" in Milan; to probe the alleged receipt of hundreds of thousands of dollars of illicit funds; and to learn more about a further episode of corruption.

The parliament, however, approved investigations of the violation of the law on party financing (which Craxi admits) and a lesser case of corruption in Rome.

The vote threatens to render fruitless more than a year of work done by the Operation Clean Hands judges in Milan, who spoke of contesting the decision in the Constitutional Court.

Following the Craxi vote, Mr. Ciampi's government, sworn in just hours before, lost all hope of broadening its support beyond the old coalition partners. The Democratic Party of the Left (the PDS or ex-Communists), the Republican Party, and the Greens, which had all been considering supporting the government, immediately reentered the opposition. Three PDS ministers and a Green minister resigned after less than a day in office.

Italians joined in demonstrations throughout the country on April 30 and May 1 and inundated politicians and the news media with phone calls, faxes, and telegrams expressing their anger.

"I think it's the only thing we can do," says university student Camilla Ceredini, who adds she was shocked by Parliament's decision on Craxi. "It's the last thing I expected."

Under the pressure of popular outrage, a range of political parties and union leaders called for modification or abolition of the constitutional provision of parliamentary immunity from prosecution. Current rules provide for a trial of a parliamentarian only if his colleagues approve lifting his immunity. Even then, he can only be tried in the specific judicial investigation at hand.

Scalfaro, in his May 1 address, said immunity must be reviewed. Politicians had abused the system, he said, making it a form of privilege and discrimination, and thereby calling into question the equality of all citizens under the law. "This is intolerable," he said.

The Green Party has called for a popular protest in front of the Chamber of Deputies tomorrow.

Socialist Party leader Giorgio Benvenuto, at a meeting of the party's leadership tomorrow, is expected to propose the party change its name and to invite Socialists under investigation to leave the party – possibly including Craxi himself.

Christian Democrat leader Mino Martinazzoli condemned the Craxi vote as a "mistake" and came close to resigning, so depressed was he over its impact on his cautious efforts to renew and reform his own party.

"The majority of the deputies must have known that a vote for Craxi was a vote against Martinazzoli," Mr. Buttiglione says. "I hope he draws the right conclusions from this.... Either he resigns or he takes a very strong course of action ... much stronger than up to now."

Assassination Leaves a Leadership Vacuum in Sri Lanka

By Anthony Spaeth
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW DELHI

THE killing of President Ranashinghe Premadasa brings Sri Lanka to a new threshold of political uncertainty. The two-party system that has dominated the nation's politics since 1956 may be one of the casualties of Saturday's bombing.

Premadasa and 15 others, including his bodyguards and a policeman, were killed Saturday afternoon by a suicide bomber during a May Day parade in the country's capital, Colombo. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who are fighting for an independent homeland for the minority Tamil community, have denied responsibility, and Premadasa had many other enemies. But the bombing closely resembled past attacks by the Tigers. The group is accused of using a suicide bomber to kill former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991.

The assassination leaves a leadership vacuum in Sri Lanka, an island nation that has suffered 10 years of violence between the Tamils and the majority Sinhalese. In the late 1980s, the conflict erupted into an all-out civil war. Today, 10 years after the troubles began, the government has reached a stalemate in its war against the Tigers in the country's northern and eastern provinces.

Premadasa had a mixed record, and his popularity seemed low. His economic policies had brought growth and jobs, but he was also responsible for creating death squads that destroyed a Marxist insurrectionist group in 1988 and 1989, leading to tens of thousands of extra-judicial killings and contributing to one of the worst human rights records of any country in the world.

HE was an energetic leader, however, who seemed genuinely interested in solving ethnic discord. His government was putting together a long-delayed political package to solve the Tamil problem. Analysts said Premadasa, despite his serious flaws, had the authority to offer concessions to the Tamils without risking the wrath of the Sinhalese majority.

The biggest casualty of Saturday's carnage may be Sri Lanka's two-party political system. To maintain his power in the United National Party (UNP), Premadasa made all major decisions and surrounded himself with a notoriously weak Cabinet. Thus the party that has held power since 1977 holds no likely successors.

Former Prime Minister D. B. Wijetung, who was sworn in as acting president Saturday, is given little credit for leadership. According to the Constitution, the Parliament will vote within a month to choose someone to fill out Premadasa's term.

The main opposition party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, is also in total disarray. Its ailing leader, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, cannot decide whether the party should be run by her son Anura or her daughter Chandrika Kumaratunga. The Democratic United National Front, formed by two breakaway members of Premadasa's UNP, was gaining strength until April 24, when the more charismatic of its leaders, Lalith Athulathmudali, was shot and killed at an election rally.

■ *Julian West contributed to this report from Colombo, Sri Lanka.*

As Pyongyang continues to develop nuclear weapons, East Asian nations reconsider their positions

World Tries Diplomacy to Slow North Korean Nuclear Program

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

NORTH KOREA is a fiercely insular nation that could be only months away from assembling an atomic bomb.

North Korea, whose government resembles a medieval-monarchy, would send shock waves around the world if it became a nuclear power. It could cause Japan and other neighbors to plan their own bomb programs. Tensions would tighten in a region increasingly important to the United States.

Early this year, North Korea said it would pull out of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) rather than allow international inspectors to visit several suspected nuclear sites. The withdrawal is set to take effect June 12, though US officials are still guardedly optimistic the decision will be reversed.

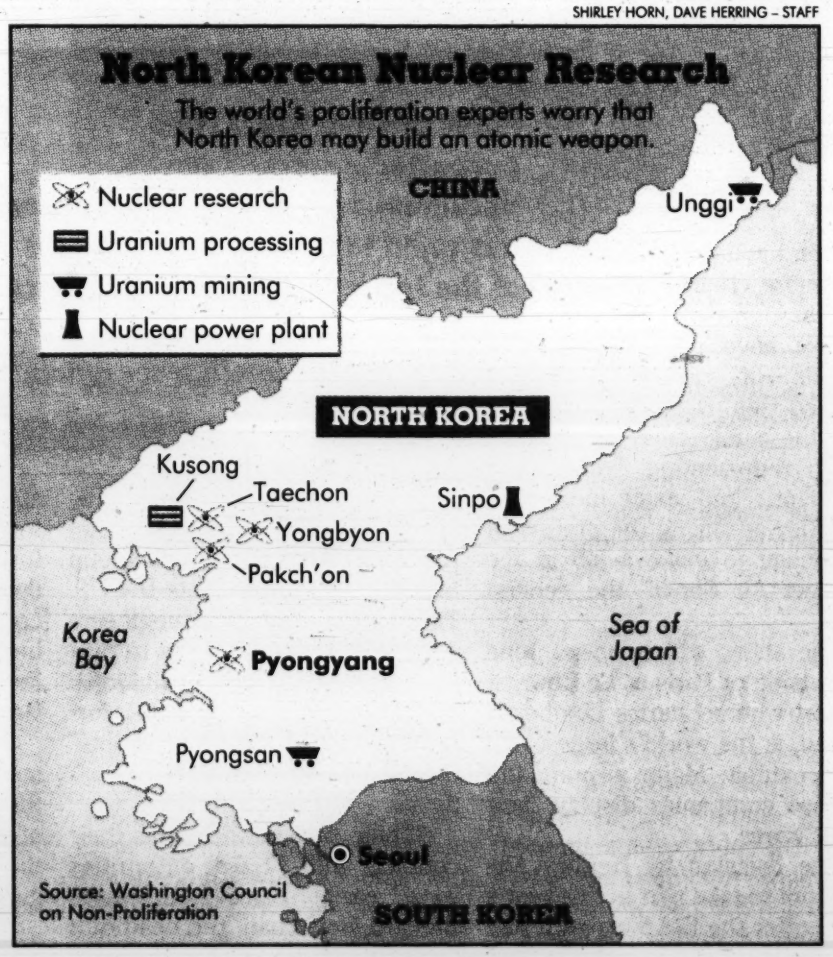
US officials may soon meet with North Korean counterparts to try to talk them back into the NPT, although as of this writing a date has not been set.

"We don't yet fully understand what their objectives are," says a US official. "In principle, we are prepared to talk."

Even if it rejoins the NPT, North Korea might be able to continue a clandestine nuclear program. The US and its allies are focusing on quiet diplomacy, because at this point they have few options to block Pyongyang if it is serious in its intentions.

"I think they are pursuing that goal," says Dr. Kongdan Oh, a Korea analyst at the RAND Corporation. "Maybe we have to think about how to survive or live with a nuclearized North Korea."

SHIRLEY HORN, DAVE HERRING – STAFF



Unwanted scenario

That is not a scenario Western diplomats like to contemplate. After all, North Korea is a country that has blown up South Korean officials on airliners. Its government is a throwback to the 13th century. Aged near-absolute ruler Kim Il Sung is attempting to gradually transfer power to a son, Kim Jong Il, whose apparent lack of emotional stability worries Westerners.

Many Western officials and analysts are convinced North Korea's ostensibly civilian nuclear-power infrastructure has secretly produced weapons-grade plutonium. The only real debate is over how much – and how close North Korean scientists might be to converting this material into weapons.

In February 1991, then-CIA director Robert Gates said he thought a North Korean bomb could become a reality within a few months, or perhaps several years. More optimistic estimates within the US government tend toward the high end of that range.

If North Korea acquired nuclear weapons, the security calculations of its neighbors could drastically change. South Korea would feel suddenly very vulnerable, US security guarantees notwithstanding. Seoul could well restart its own clandestine nuclear program, which was ended under US pressure in the mid-1970s.

Japan would also certainly reevaluate its position in the world. A North Korean nuclear weapon could be simply shipped into Tokyo harbor on a tramp steamer – or mounted on top of a missile capable of reaching the Japanese homeland.

If Japan responded with its own nuclear program, or even simply a buildup of conventional weapons, all of East Asia would become nervous.

US officials are particularly anxious about North Korea's willingness to peddle weapons. Some US analysts rate North Korea a priority worry, just behind control of the ex-Soviet Union's arsenal.

The problem is that there are no obvious ways North Korea can be blocked from becoming a nuclear power. The West has few levers of influence on a nation that has little contact with the outside world.

Economic sanctions would be largely pointless, as Pyongyang buys little from outside the country and has preached self-reliance for decades.

China as diplomatic ally

China might be of some diplomatic help – Beijing wants North Korea to remain within the NPT, too, according to US officials. But even though China is the closest thing to a friend North Korea has, relations between the two have reportedly become strained over the nuclear issue.

Some hawkish US voices, such as the chairman of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, Rep. John Murtha (D) of Pennsylvania, have said the US needs to be prepared for military action if North Korea presses ahead.

But at close inspection, the bombing option may promise no more chance of success than the diplomatic one.

Firstly, the chances of wiping out North Korea's bomb program with military action do not appear great.

The reactors and plutonium separation facilities of North Korea's nuclear infrastructure are vulnerable – but only if an attacker is prepared to risk spreading deadly radioactive debris around the Korean peninsula. In any case North Korea is thought already to have plutonium for at least one weapon. Plutonium, once produced, is a small package that is easy to hide.

Secondly, any bombing raid would likely generate a huge military response. North Korea is heavily armed with conventional weapons, and could well again invade the south if attacked first.

So what to do? Quiet diplomacy, plus patience, appears the only immediate answer. Dr. Oh of RAND suggests that North Korea simply be waited out. Its tottering economy, she says, will eventually collapse.

North Korea may come to the point of view that it needs to open up to the West if it is to sustain any semblance of economic life. That is a logical conclusion. But nuclear weapons do carry prestige and power – and North Korea may press ahead, even at the risk of complete isolation.

■ *This is the second in a two-part series. Part 1 appeared April 30.*

France Shaken By Suicide Of Ex-Premier

STUNNED by Pierre Bérègovoy's suicide, colleagues said yesterday the former French premier was anguished by attacks on his integrity and by his Socialist Party's collapse. In a sign of respect, the conservatives who ousted Bérègovoy in March elections postponed the unveiling of a plan to overhaul Socialist economic policies.

Bérègovoy, who died May 1, held himself partly responsible for the

EUROPE UPDATE

Socialists' crushing defeat in recent elections.

But colleagues said he was even more dismayed that his integrity was questioned following a February news report that he received an interest-free 1 million franc ($180,000) loan in 1986 from a businessman later jailed on corruption charges. "It was the injustice and persistence of the attacks," said Laurent Fabius, a former premier and Socialist leader.

Bérègovoy insisted the interest-free loan form Roger-Patrice Pelat was legal and entailed no return favors.

German Labor Prepares Strike

German trade unions rallied angry workers at dozens of May Day demonstrations across the country Saturday in preparation for a major strike in the east this week.

Franz Steinkühler, president of the powerful IG Metall metalworkers' union, warned employers at a demonstration in Magdeburg that their decision to topple wage agreements would be thwarted by worker resistance.

The strike was called after employers reneged on contracts agreed to in 1991 that would have boosted east German wages by more than 20 percent from April and brought them up to western levels by next year.

Mr. Steinkühler warned the breach could have unforeseeable consequences as Germany struggles through the unification process.

Economics Minister Günter Rexrodt said unions must be more flexible. The ruling Christian Democratic Party said in a statement that the time had come to reconsider social welfare benefits long taken for granted by affluent west Germany.

The opposition Social Democrats and union leaders, however, called on west Germans to show solidarity with east Germans to fight against cuts in jobs and social benefits.

Talks between employers and union leaders in two east German states ended without compromise, leading to the region's first strike after 60 years of Nazi and communist rule.

– Compiled by Scott Baldauf

BOOKS

Business Success in Japan: A Plan for Western Women

By S. C. Llewelyn Leach
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

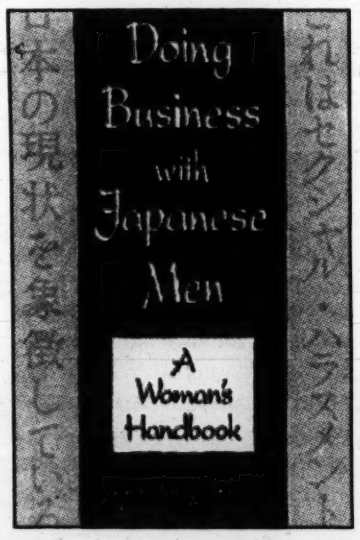
BOSTON

DURING her first presentation to a group of Japanese men, a California businesswoman couldn't help noticing a senior Japanese executive in the audience making faces at her – squinting, frowning, wrinkling his nose.

Not knowing whether to be enraged or mortified, she asked a male colleague to intervene. An apology arrived immediately. The executive "had unconsciously been caught up in mimicking" her facial expressions, unaccustomed as many Japanese males are to seeing a woman so animated.

Being mimicked, ignored, asked impertinent questions, or ogled at are not uncommon for Western women working with Japanese males, according to a new book entitled "Doing Business with Japanese Men: A Woman's Handbook" (Stone Bridge Press, $9.95). But understanding the culture goes a long way to dispelling discomfort. Jointly authored by Christalyn Brannen and Tracey Wilen, both long experienced in dealing with Japanese executives, the book guides the uninitiated through the cultural quirks of Japanese business etiquette.

Some pitfalls can be subtle. For instance, sitting at the wrong place around a conference table can designate a woman as the secretary even if she heads the team. Wearing bright colors, bold patterns, red lipstick, or large earrings may also get a woman labeled a secretary. Instead, women executives should dress conservatively in muted tones with minimal accessories.



The main challenge women executives face in Japan is establishing their authority and not being mistaken for an "office lady" or administrative assistant. In a society where few women reach the higher echelons of business or government, the female executive is an anomaly, the book says. Japanese men view a working woman as "temporarily misguided," and one who will soon pursue "the rightful path of wife, mother, and homebody."

One executive from Idaho had to deal with the "parrot" phenomenon, as she termed it. When a women on her team answered a question, no one on the Japanese side listened or even looked at her. "Then, when one of our male colleagues repeats exactly what we just said, the Japanese faces all light up in instant comprehension," she said.

Personal confidence and correct formal introductions from senior management are essential. Where men are generally assumed to hold positions of authority, women have to prove it. Young American men sent to negotiate multimillion-dollar deals will much older Japanese counterparts may meet similar prejudices. Tradition-bound Japan is gradually loosening up, however. Global trade has brought Japanese males into contact with foreign women at all levels of authority. And more and more college-educated Japanese women are applying to work for foreign companies that offer more promise of promotion.

This handbook could easily have spun off into a Japan-bashing exercise. But Brannen, who grew up in Japan and speaks the language fluently, clearly respects the culture and is careful to explain the context behind discriminatory actions.

Much of the odd behavior she puts down to unfamiliarity and ignorance. "Many Japanese men are simply not aware of what is appropriate behavior toward women," she says. And some comments denote a "misunderstanding of what it means to be friendly," she says, referring to some of the more unwelcome questions, such as "Why aren't you married," or "How many children do you plan to have?"

The slim volume is useful for female executives and entertaining whether or not you plan to step foot in Japan.

■ *S. C. Llewelyn Leach is on the Monitor staff.*

ECONOMY

French Riled by US Claims Of Industrial Espionage

Officials claim CIA has ulterior motive for warning US companies

By Eduardo Cué
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PARIS

UNITED STATES allegations that French intelligence services are involved in large scale spying operations against US companies are viewed here as an attempt by the Central Intelligence Agency to find new enemies.

The CIA's effort would presumably safeguard its budget from Congressional cuts despite the end of the cold war, the French officials charge.

While French officials admit privately that spying between industrialized countries is a fact of life, they say the Americans are focusing on Paris rather than on Bonn or Tokyo because the French make an easy target.

Some commentators have even argued that the US government is giving the French intelligence community more credit than it deserves.

"We have reached new heights of ridicule," remarked Gen. Bernard Nicolas, the spokesman for a group representing French aeronautic and space industries.

"They are using the pretext of espionage to make a jab at the Bourget Air Show," the general said.

The show, which opens June 11 outside of Paris at Le Bourget Airport where Charles Lindbergh landed, is the world's largest aviation exhibit. Major aircraft and defense companies display their latest wares.

The decision by Hughes Aircraft not to take part in this year's show after the CIA warned it and 48 other US companies they were targets of espionage operations by the French led to allegations in Paris that Washington was out to sabotage Le Bourget, a charge strongly denied by the American embassy here.

"The United States fully supports participation of US firms in the Paris Air Show," an embassy statement said. "More than 100 US firms, along with NASA and the Federal Aviation Administration, will participate in the USA National Pavilion. In addition, at least 100 other US firms will display their technology at other pavilions at the show."

The latest controversy over French spying in the US was set off by the publication in the American press last month of a purportedly secret French document that revealed details of a French spy network in America.

"It is an attack in due form from Washington," a French intelligence official said in reference to the document. "A low blow designed to resolve the problems at the top levels of the intelligence agency [CIA] and also a way of bringing up again an old disagreement."

The official was referring to the discovery three years ago that French agents had infiltrated IBM plants in the US. The matter was settled with a "gentlemen's agreement" that included a French pledge not to repeat the actions.

Publication in the US of a purportedly secret French document on spying is 'a low blow designed to resolve the problems at the top levels of the intelligence agency [CIA]....'

– French intelligence official

In the spring of 1991, however, US agents, tipped by an American firm, followed a group of six Frenchmen across the US. They were posing as engineers searching for better ways to protect nuclear energy installations. In fact, they were seeking information about the "invisible" Stealth plane, according to US officials.

"Their real mission and their contacts with French authorities were easily discovered," says Richard Heffernan, the head of a security company in Connecticut.

The French government denies any involvement in the matter, just as it denies that it had any connection with Marc Goldberg, a French citizen arrested in San Francisco in July 1990 and found guilty of stealing secret documents from a high-technology firm in Palo Alto, Calif.

US officials also suspect the French consul in Houston with attempting to uncover industrial secrets. The consul was photographed in May 1991 by US agents while he was searching through the garbage outside the homes of executives for high-technology companies. He claimed he was only trying to find material to fill a hole in his garden.

Recently crews for Air France, the national airline, have been accused of taking part in espionage missions.

"There have been cases implicating the French until as recently as last fall," Mr. Heffernan said.

But French officials say that the recent American attacks against their country are in fact just ploys by the US intelligence community which is searching for new enemies now that the Berlin Wall is down and the former Soviet Union has collapsed.

The French officials point out that the alleged French document detailing Paris's spy network in the US was leaked to the American media days before the US Army was to make a decision on a new training helicopter. The Army was to choose between a model built by a French-German consortium and Bell Helicopter, the US firm.

"In order to justify their intransigence in the economic war, the Americans are in the process of making themselves out to be the victims," says a French intelligence official.

"They are going to say that it is in self-defense that the CIA, with its tremendous resources, is getting involved in industrial espionage," the official says.

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Cable TV Firm Sees Itself As On-Ramp to 'Highway'

By Mark Trumbull
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

TO talk with Gary Weik, the president of a medium-sized cable television company, is to get a glimpse of how America's "information superhighway" is already taking shape – and how the name "highway" fails to convey its complexity and variety.

The Clinton administration wants to modernize the communications system on which American business, science, and education depend. But because the upgraded networks are so costly, their shape will depend largely on private-sector innovation and investment.

While in Boston recently, Mr. Weik spoke about the superhighway from the perspective of KBLCOM Inc., of which he is chief operating officer.

He foresees not a single information "highway," but a "hybrid system" in which cable, telephone, and wireless networks all play distinctive roles. As with transportation, the information system will include not just "express lanes" but also "ring roads" and "ramps" to allow users to get on and off.

He warns, however, that a big question mark for all the players is market demand: How much information and communication do consumers want? How much can they afford?

"The video media will proliferate" just as the print media developed thousands of specialized publications, Weik predicts.

He says demand for video entertainment may become the catalyst for financing new information pathways. Personal-computer sales took off with the rise of popular word-processing and spreadsheet programs, he notes.

Even using the coaxial cables that already reach most American households, cable companies could expand their capacity tenfold – to 500 channels, for example – by using digital compression technology to squeeze more data through the pipeline. Some of the largest firms are already test-marketing such offerings. Cable TV cables reach about 95 percent of US neighborhoods.

KBLCOM plans to spend $40 million over the next few years to lay fiber-optic cable for its roughly 1 million customers in nine states. The high-capacity strands of fiber will reach down to neighborhoods of 2,000 homes. Smaller neighborhoods will use traditional cable lines.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

WEYMOUTH, MASS.: *Technician Greg Haas checks satellite reception at a small cable TV company. Programming comes in via satellite and is then sent to subscribers via cable.*

WEIK says this new carrying capacity may make it feasible to send hundreds of video channels into each of these neighborhoods. Viewers could be offered "video-on-demand" – a specific program played exactly when an individual wants to see it. But this would require expensive centralized equipment to coordinate the programming, Weik notes.

KBLCOM has been experimenting with interactive television. Last fall the company introduced an interactive television system called Star Response. Customers in San Antonio have the option of responding to advertisements, such as ordering information about a car, by simply pushing a button or two on their remote control pads (rather than having to call an "800" number).

The system, which involves attaching a "converter box" to the television set, could also be used for opinion polling during televised town meetings. The company has been offering these converter boxes since 1989 to customers interested in ordering "pay-per-view" programming.

Weik downplays the idea of using cable lines to compete directly with the Bell companies to deliver local telephone service. "It's not that lucrative," he says. Cable firms are currently barred from this business, but there is speculation that those restrictions might be loosened since phone companies are winning greater freedom to offer video and information services over their lines.

KBLCOM, a subsidiary of Houston Industries, is exploring other non-TV lines of business. A product called Digital Music Express offers 30 channels of high-quality music over cable. "We've been very successful competing with Muzak" in providing music to businesses, Weik says.

Although cable revenues come predominantly from residential customers, Weik sees a promising commercial market. On May 15, for example, San Antonio's new 65,000-seat Alamodome opens. KBLCOM will provide services ranging from a wireless phone system to feeding television coverage of events to satellite uplinks through its cable network.

Computer Giants Gird for Chip Fight

By Andrew Collier
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

IBM CORPORATION and Apple Corporation have put aside their boxing gloves to shake hands – at least for now.

After years of touting the differences between their personal computers, the two industry giants have developed a common microprocessor – the brains of a computer – with chipmaker Motorola Inc. The chip, called the PowerPC, will be shipped starting in June. It will be used in both companies' computers.

Bob Mansfield, IBM's manager for the PowerPC, says the chip's development was driven by the demand for ever-greater computing power, the possibility of multimedia and other functions, and more sophisticated operating systems. "As we talked about this with Motorola and Apple, there was a lot of similarity in our thinking," Mr. Mansfield says.

But the alliance's geniality does not mask the iron fists that will be bared once the partners are in the ring – the market.

"Apple and IBM have different strategies for the PowerPC," says Michael Slater of Microdesign Resources in Sebastopol, Calif. Apple is looking for a new base for a future generation of computers, while IBM is looking to make its workstation stronger and maybe do something with the PC, he adds.

Finding a niche

Apple says the PowerPC will coexist with its current lines, which contain another Motorola chip, the 68000. Apple System 7 software will run on the PowerPC, but at a speed as little as one-quarter as fast as on Macintosh computers. The software has to be translated to the chip's RISC (reduced instruction-set computing) architecture, a relatively new system that is fast for repetitive operations, Mr. Slater says. Apple is developing a new operating system for the chip and is trying to convince software developers to write programs for the PowerPC.

IBM is directing the first PowerPC machines at high-end customers – engineers and draftsmen who use an operating system called Unix and require a lot of computing power. PowerPC machines will eventually replace IBM's RS/6000 workstation. But IBM isn't shying away from the low end of the PC market either. "You'll find it in the low- to mid-range workstations, you'll find it in the PC market, and in other markets RISC traditionally hasn't been in," IBM's Mansfield says. He sees the PowerPC machines dropping below the $4,000 price that marks the bottom of the RS/6000 line.

Intel and Microsoft enter the ring

The competition will not be confined to Apple and IBM. No slugfest in the computer industry is complete without Intel Corporation, a major chipmaker, and Microsoft Corporation, a software giant. Intel has begun shipping customers its next-generation PC microprocessor, the Pentium. It will start appearing in computers later this year. Most PCs today use Intel microprocessors.

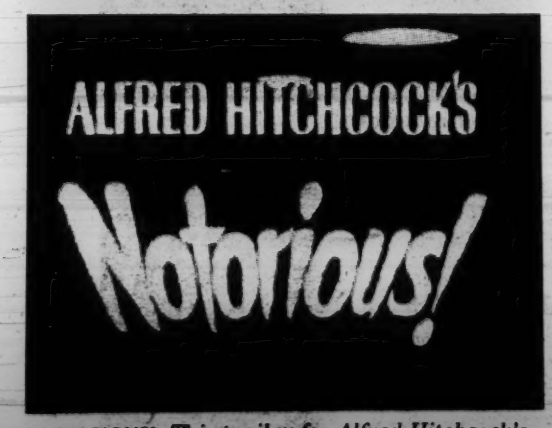
The Pentium and the first PowerPC microprocessor, the 601, are about equal in speed for average uses. Price may be where the PowerPC comes out a winner. Although Intel has not revealed its prices, the Pentium is likely to cost around $900 in large volumes, compared with $280 to $374 for versions of the PowerPC microprocessor. The chip can be made even less expensive, says Phil Pompa of Motorola. A low-power version will result in desktop computers "at minimum" 30 percent cheaper than machines based on the initial PowerPC.

Other competitors for super-fast microprocessors include Digital Equipment Corporation's Alpha RISC chip and the MIPS 4000 built by several companies. Kevin Fielding, DEC's marketing manager for the Alpha, says that it is twice as fast as the PowerPC processor. But he acknowledges, "the initial version of the PowerPC is aggressively priced."

PC Magazine, for one, is convinced Intel's Pentium will dominate the PC market eventually.

Microsoft will have a lot to say on which chip wins. In June, it is set to deliver a new Windows operating system called Windows NT but has not said it will make it available for the PowerPC. Without this most important PC software operating system, IBM could be left behind if it offers low-end PCs.

FILM



'NOTORIOUS': *This trailer for Alfred Hitchcock's 1946 classic starring Cary Grant and Ingrid Bergman promised adventure and romance.*

Designed to tease audiences, trailers have become more expensive and more explicit than ever

Do Film Previews Promise More Than They Deliver?

By John C. Tibbetts
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

KANSAS CITY, MO.

TODAY'S film previews aren't what they used to be. Recent promotions for "Jack the Bear," "Point of No Return," and "Born Yesterday" reveal so much of the plot that few surprises are left for the viewer. Other trailers have been downright deceptive. Those for "Crush" and "Indecent Proposal" hint at explicit sex scenes, but the films contain tame love scenes and mere snippets of nudity.

Steve Martin summed up these practices in the preview he made for "The Jerk": "We made this preview of coming attractions," he told the audience, smiling out from the screen. "We took the best stuff from the picture and stuck it all on one reel. They're gonna think this picture's loaded. We even got stuff from other movies on it. By the time folks figure that one out, we're going to have their money, and we'll be in the Bahamas!"

"Trailers have a mind of their own," says George Suski, a Hollywood-based independent filmmaker, a veteran of more than 20 years in trailer-making ("Lilies of the Field," "Doctor No," "Halloween," "An American Werewolf in London"). "They were originally designed to tease audiences to come to the film. They told you just enough to get you interested.

"But somewhere along the line it was decided to show you more and more. Now trailers are longer; they are more expensive and more explicit," Mr. Suski says.

The history of the "coming attraction" is as old as the history of the movies themselves. The term "trailer" derives from the silent days. Lantern slides of coming attractions were projected after the main feature. In the late 1920s with the advent of the talking picture, short "teasers," as they came to be called, preceded the bill.

Dominating the business was National Screen Service, a New York-based company under the aegis of its president, Herman Robinson, and its producer, the legendary Max Weinberg.

The "golden age" of National Screen spanned the late 1920s through the '50s, precisely those decades when the vertically integrated studios in Hollywood controlled the majority of commercial film production, distribution, and exhibition. There was nothing timid about these promotions. The adjectives and superlatives – usually in capital letters – cannonaded off the silver screen.

About the 1927 "Ben Hur": "Lavish Grandeur. Daring Gorgeousness. Three Years in the Making. Magnificent Majesty." "Dinner at Eight" boasted: "The Most Glamorous Production of All Time." A horror film called "Devil Doll" proclaimed: "The Strangest Story the Screen Has Ever Known." And "Gone with the Wind" reserved for itself the most hyperbolic enticement of all: "THE MOST EAGERLY AWAITED PICTURE IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN ENTERTAINMENT."

ENTICING MOVIEGOERS TO SEE 'GONE WITH THE WIND': *These days, such grandiose verbage would be called 'hype.'*

Historians know that trailers are often valuable barometric readings of the social attitudes of the day. There were the racist crudities of the 1943 "Bataan" ("Out of the Eerie Depths of a Jap-Ridden Hell!") and the sexist titles accompanying virtually every 1950s monster movie ("See Martian Monsters Abduct Luscious Lovelies!"). And, there were the promises of "Thousands of Milling Extras" in the 1950s intended to lure viewers away from their newfangled television sets.

Rare indeed was a preview that was as modest as that which preceded Orson Welles's "Citizen Kane": "It's a coming attraction. At least, it's coming to this theater, and we hope it's an attraction!"

As the studios lost their monolithic power in the 1960s and the independent film companies appeared, so too did the hegemony of National Screen gradually yielded to independent companies like Kaleidoscope Films, the Kanew Company, and Seineger Bloom Productions.

Consequently, the face of trailers began to change. Kaleidoscope's Andrew Kuehn, "The King of the Coming Attraction," produced the groundbreaking trailer for "The Night of the Iguana" in 1964. It was virtually an original product, made independently of the movie itself, with new scenes, music, and narrative (James Earl Jones). Screen Magazine praised it as the first sophisticated advertisement of an American movie.

Kaleidoscope's trailers for "Jaws," "Star Wars,

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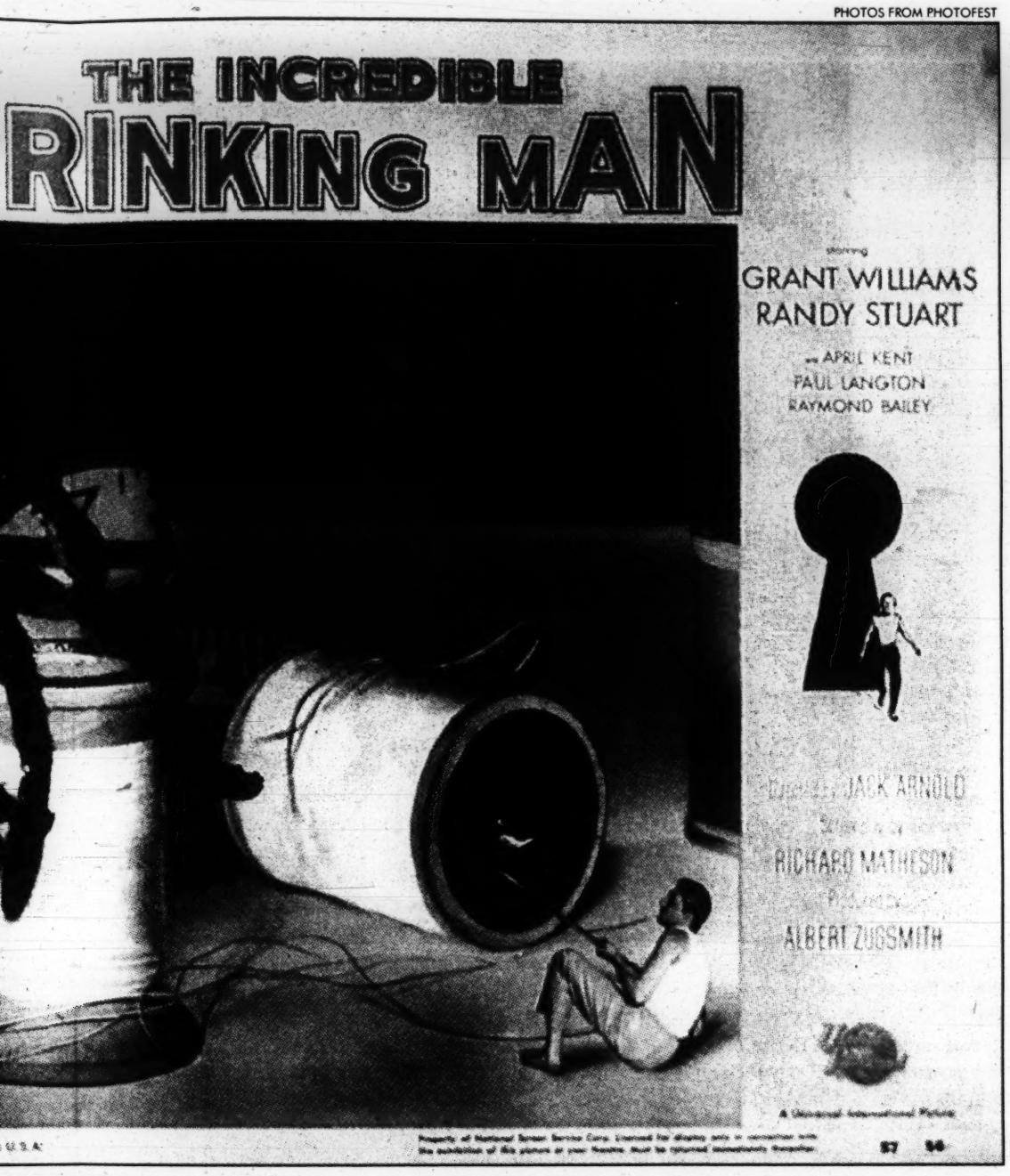
DON'T MISS HIM: *Grant Williams stars as the shrinking ma*
The adjectives and superlatives – usually in capital letter

PHOTOS FROM PHOTOFEST



shrinking man in this 1957 film directed by Jack Arnold. There was nothing timid about these promotions. capital letters – cannonaded off the silver screen to capture audience attention.

d the Wars," and "Raiders of the Lost Ark," were
very supercharged with flash cutting, graphic im-
Mon- ages, and percussive sound. The tag line that
And, really sold "Jaws 2" – "Just When You
ds of Thought It Was Safe to Go Back into the
lure Water" – first appeared in the Kaleidoscope
elevi- trailer.

Kaleidoscope's trailer for "Superman," on the other hand, revealed very little. It generated great excitement by depicting little more than cloudscapes and graphics.

"The 'Superman' trailer is already a legend," George Suski says, "but, you know, they did it that way because they didn't have any footage from the movie to work with! Besides, they could afford to be subtle because the name 'Superman' was already recognizable all over the world. But there's nothing worse than a subtle trailer if there are no stars in it!"

SUSKI, who used to bring in trailers for a total cost of $1,500 back in the 1960s, says that now the lengths and the budgets for these "mini-movies" are greatly inflated.

"Trailers can be as long as four minutes now and can cost as much as a low-budget feature. You hear the stories: that [Steven] Spielberg's trailer for "1941" cost almost $400,000.

"There's talk right now that the preview for [Arnold] Schwarzenegger's new movie, "The Last Action Hero," will cost somewhere in the vicinity of $800,000, although Columbia denies it.

"More and more, the studios are realizing that trailers are their major advertising medium. So they are spending more money and using more talent. If you look at them apart from the features they promote, you realize that they are complete in themselves. They are an art form. They have always been an art form. People are only now catching up with that," Suski says.

Meanwhile, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) Ratings Code is keeping a close watch on today's trailers. They are still shackled to the MPAA "G" rating, no matter how salacious or violent or "adult" the product is that they promote. "You can't have nudity in a trailer, or profanity," says John Bloom of Seineger Bloom Productions, "and there's a rule about not having the victim and weapon in the same frame – and no blood."

Inevitably, this creates problems. The trailer to Stanley Kubrick's "The Shining" depicted a river of blood pouring out of a hotel elevator. The MPAA questioned Warner Brothers about the blood and was told it was just "rusty water." However, when the trailers went out to the theaters, there was such an outcry from viewers that the MPAA demanded their recall.

In the final analysis, perhaps it's the movies that are betraying the trailers, and not the other way around.

■ *Charles Silver of the film department of the Museum of Modern Art helped in the preparation of this article.*

Broadway Stages Flashy Rock Opera 'Tommy'

By Frank Scheck
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

TO say that the Broadway production of "The Who's 'Tommy'" approaches the quality of a rock concert is no backhanded compliment. Rock-concert staging exceeded Broadway standards years ago.

The audience excitement generated by this adaptation of a decades-old and by now somewhat quaint "rock opera" is a testament to the hunger that younger Broadway audiences have for anything vaguely contemporary, for anything they can claim their own. In fact, the first day of sale after opening, "Tommy" sold a record-breaking 1,000 tickets per hour.

THEATER

THE WHO'S TOMMY
Book by Pete Townshend and Des McAnuff. Music and lyrics by Pete Townshend.
Directed by Des McAnuff.
Playing at the St. James Theatre.

"Tommy," the story of an emotionally scarred "deaf, dumb and blind kid [who] sure plays a mean pinball," has been staged before, but never with this kind of cohesiveness and lavish theatrical quality. The piece is probably best-known through Ken Russell's outlandish 1975 film version, an all-star affair featuring not only The Who but such ringers as Elton John and Tina Turner.

This version, newly adapted for the stage, is a collaboration between composer-lyricist Pete Townshend and Des McAnuff, who co-wrote the book and directed. It premièred last year at the LaJolla Playhouse in LaJolla, Calif.

McAnuff has staged the all-music piece as a multimedia spectacle that relentlessly serves up a barrage of images, courtesy of Wendall K. Harrington's projections and video displays on dozens of television monitors.

The inventiveness of the staging wins applause beginning with the opening scene, in which paratroopers drop through the misty depths of the stage.

The adult Tommy, played by Michael Cerveris, makes his first appearance descending from the ceiling and later performs a dazzling series of flying somersaults. Another highlight is a spectacular pinball sequence in Act II, in which Tommy and his machine are flung about the stage with the abandon of an amusement-park ride, culminating in an explosive fireworks display.

And, of course, there is the story, in which Tommy, who witnesses at a young age the murder of his mother's lover by his father, retreats into a world of silence and catatonia. Tormented by his Uncle Ernie and cousin Kevin, he comes alive only when playing pinball, until an event in the second act brings him alive ("I'm Free").

This disjointed and tenuously allegorical story line was previously masked by the power of the music, played by one of the world's great rock bands. If you're not already familiar with the material, you're likely to be somewhat baffled. But the music still holds up beautifully.

If you've heard The Who play the score, or seen the visual excesses of the film adaptation, you're likely to find the stage rendition tame and underwhelming. Such comparison may be unfair, and certainly this reconceived "Tommy" works well enough on its own.

It provids a dazzling array of sights and sounds unlike anything else on Broadway, and it may single-handedly revive the reputation of the rock musical. But one wishes that less attention had been paid to theatrical slickness and a little more to the sloppy excesses of rock-and-roll.

■ *'The Who's 'Tommy' begins its national tour in Dallas this October.*

MARCUS BRYAN-BROWN

YOUNG TOMMY: *Jonathan Dokuchitz takes center stage in a scene from the multimedia show.*

LEARNING

Lessons From The Workplace In the Classroom

'Total quality management,' first applied in business, is being adapted for education

By Mark Trumbull
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

AT the Boston University school of management, a transformation is under way. Students will increasingly be graded not only as individuals but also as members of teams.

"For you to succeed, the team must succeed," Dean Louis Lataif tells students. Students must still pass individual proficiency tests, but by next fall, 90 percent of the course work for a master's degree in business administration (MBA) will involve some kind of teaming, Mr. Lataif says.

For Lataif, a former vice president of the Ford Motor Company, the growing emphasis on teamwork is part of a broad move to implement the principles of "total quality management."

TQM, long a buzzword among companies struggling to regain their competitive edge, can also work significant changes in America's educational system, Lataif and other educators say.

"I think it's our greatest hope," says Seldon Whitaker, a high school superintendent who for several years has been incorporating TQM concepts into programs in the State College, Pa., school district.

Although the application of these management ideas in the education world is still in its infancy, interest is "growing exponentially; it is just booming," says Jonathan Fife, director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, an information resource center at George Washington University in Washington.

If this movement is to transform education, however, several hurdles must be jumped. These include teachers' resistance to change and the time and effort it takes to implement TQM.

The basic elements of the system espoused by W. Edwards Deming and other management experts include a focus on "customer" needs, measuring performance and trying continuously to improve it, and creating a management environment (including pay and promotion policies) in which everyone works toward common goals. **(See story, left.)** Proponents emphasize teamwork as part of this effort.

To date, efforts to apply these management concepts in education have been aimed mostly at administrative performance, rather than at curriculum, says Lawrence Sherr, professor of business at the University of Kansas and co-author of a recent book, "Quality: Transforming Postsecondary Education" (George Washington University).

Many colleges, however, are trying to apply the ideas more broadly, Professor Sherr says. These range from community colleges to elite schools such as Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Mass. A few institutions are trying to implement the quality regime university-wide. These include the University of Michigan, the North Dakota university system, and Pennsylvania State University.

"Nobody has been at it very long," Sherr says, noting that businesses typically pursue TQM for more than three years before

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

DEMING: *The father of 'total quality management' (although he eschews the term) speaks to management-school students at Boston University in March.*

WHAT IS TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT?

BOSTON

■ W. Edwards Deming is considered the father of total quality management (TQM), yet he reacts almost angrily to the term. "Don't ask me about it. I don't use it. It's not in my vocabulary," he said in a recent interview.

The statistician, who earned a doctorate at Yale University in 1928, is credited with helping Japanese industry make dramatic gains after World War II ("at their request," he stresses). Dr. Deming talks mostly about good management, rarely using the word quality.

"TQM is simply excellence," says Louis Lataif, dean of Boston University's school of management and a Deming disciple. "Excellence is not going to go out of fashion."

Dr. Lataif describes five facets of the system, all of which could apply to a school as easily as to a business:

Customer focus. Customers didn't know to ask for a microwave oven before it was invented, he notes. Successful companies direct their efforts to meet consumers' needs.

Management by facts. Deming and other statisticians developed methods to regularly test the output of a system, whether it is an factory assembly line or a sales force, to see how well it is functioning.

About 96 percent of problems are due to poor system design, not poor performance by the people in it, Deming contends.

Continuous improvement. Alternatives to the existing system are planned, tested, and then – if they are better – implemented.

Total involvement. Everyone in the system works toward the overall goal of the organization, not toward individual or narrow departmental goals.

Systemic support. The system is designed to be supportive of the preceding principles. Too often people are still promoted on the basis of how well they do for their department, not how well they serve the organization, Lataif says.

Deming tells of one company's travel department that saw its goal as keeping travel costs down. The result: An employee had to get up at 1 a.m. to catch a cheap flight to New York for an important afternoon meeting; the travel department saved $138.

Lataif acknowledges that, while these concepts are vital to the "how" of running an organization, they do not provide the "what" – the sense of mission or direction. "That's leadership," he says.

– M. T.

Deming: We've Been 'Sold Down the River on Competition'

BOSTON

SELDON WHITAKER, superintendent of high schools in State College, Pa., remembers meeting W. Edwards Deming at the close of one of his famous four-day seminars. On learning Mr. Whitaker's profession, the quality-management sage asked, "Did you get rid of grades yet?"

"No."

"Do it Monday."

"It's not that simple...."

"Do it Monday."

The exchange reveals Dr. Deming as a man utterly convinced of certain ideas to which many Americans are opposed.

Asked if any United States companies have put his ideas into practice, he responds: "Not that I know of. Maybe Ford," a company that hired him as a consultant.

Deming's air of disappointment can be taken with a grain of salt: Thousands of people have been reading his books or books indebted to his ideas. Boston University recently gave him an honorary degree, after which he spoke with the Monitor.

He opposes giving out grades in schools for the same reason he objects to the currently popular idea of "pay for performance" at companies: These approaches encourage individuals to "try hard," downplaying management's responsibility to keep improving the overall system.

America has "been sold down the river on competition" as a way of improving performance, Deming says. What's needed instead, he says, is "profound knowledge." This means ideas from outside that can improve a system.

Deming argues that numeric goals or quotas often encourage participants in the system to fudge numbers or cheat customers to meet the goals. He cites Sears Roebuck's automotive-service centers, which were found last year to be selling unneeded services to customers. In "The New Economics for Industry, Government, Education," recently published by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for Advanced Engineering Study, Deming attributes the problem to targets set by Sears.

But American goal-setting seems to be growing. Last month the Clinton administration announced Goals 2000, which would expand a Bush-administration initiative to set national objectives for students, teachers, and schools. Still, Whitaker says Deming's approach can mesh with a "results" focus, since he outlines "processes to achieve those results."

Grades are unlikely to go out of style, educators say, but some foresee changes in the grading process. Many share Deming's distaste for grading on a curve. And some advocate more-frequent testing so deficiencies can be corrected along the way.

"Don't wait till the end of the year to give a test and then fail some people," says William Hartman, director of the Center for Total Quality Schools at Pennsylvania State University in University Park, Pa.

– M. T.

results begin to show up. Schools have "just started to scratch the surface," he adds.

Among the visible results in educational institutions:

■ Many business schools and engineering schools teach the principles of TQM.

■ Teachers are being encouraged to view students as "customers." This may lead, for example, to more surveys asking them whether lectures are easy to understand.

■ Universities are also viewing students as "inputs" arriving from other systems. "We need to work closely" with the grade schools and high schools, Sherr says. Penn State's engineering program, for example, is working with Pennsylvania high schools to improve student preparation.

■ Schools increasingly cooperate with employers. Much of the impetus for TQM in schools has come from business. Sherr's book quotes one executive who warns: "We'll stop recruiting at places that aren't teaching total quality."

The Penn State center was established with business funding, and 10 state high school districts – also aided by local businesses – are eight months into a program to learn quality management. Each district sends its superintendent, the president of the teachers' union, one principal, and one teacher to Penn State for a two-day seminar every month. These small teams will then lead the implementation of TQM in their school districts.

BEFORE this program, Mr. Whitaker's district had already responded to local employers who, when surveyed, said vocational education was not teaching enough teamwork skills.

The involvement of the teachers-union president has "cut through a lot of resistance" to TQM in his school district, Whitaker says.

The same resistance exists at the university level, where professors "are some of the most conservative, nonchanging individuals you'll ever find on the face of this earth," Mr. Fife says.

At Boston University, Lataif is asking professors to work more closely together in their teaching and research. They, as well as the students, will "learn the power of collective minds," the dean says.

Linda Goldstein, a student in the MBA program, says working in teams has revealed how different perspectives – from a foreign student or a "numbers person" – can help solve problems.

Whitaker says that in his high school district, administrators developed a "more collaborative atmosphere" when they did away with a ranking system to determine pay raises. "We still assess [individual] performance, but not on a point system," he says.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Clouds of criticism and thunderous warnings of decline continue to hover over American education. Until the last few years, colleges and universities were shielded from the harshest attacks. But skyrocketing tuition, among other factors, has caused parents, students, and politicians to begin scrutinizing what is happening on college campuses. Calls for change are getting louder. A handful of recent books on higher education serve as reminders of what is at stake in the reform effort.

HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA: 1980-2000, *edited by Arthur Levine (Johns Hopkins University Press, 383 pp., $35.95).* Professor Arthur Levine of the Harvard University Graduate School of Education has collected essays from experts on the full range of issues affecting higher education. Taken together in this volume, these essays provide an informative historical guide of the past decade, while also looking into the future of American higher education.

The next decade promises to be a challenging one for colleges and universities. This book explains why. It examines the political, economic, and demographic shifts that are putting pressure on the current system. And it doesn't ignore the diversity of institutions. The contributors discuss research universities, liberal-arts colleges, and community colleges.

UP THE UNIVERSITY: RECREATING HIGHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA, *by Robert and Jon Solomon (Addison-Wesley, 312 pp., $24.95).* The authors of this straight-talking book are brothers and university professors. They speak with a clarity born of experience and dedication. The most refreshing aspect of this book is that its authors teach at state universities rather than the elite private institutions where much of the defensive writing about universities originates.

Instead of taking a defensive position, the Solomons make a plea for universities to return to their original mission of teaching. Although this plea is emanating from many sources today, it is particularly persuasive here because of the authors' devotion to the cause.

"This is not another bitter diatribe against what is happening in the universities," they write. "It is an enthusiastic program for re-creating the university so that it serves us all well, and at a price we can afford."

Organized in a readable format, this book is essentially a collection of short chapters, each making the case for radical reform of higher education. The authors call for abolishing tenure, eliminating PhD dissertation requirements, and instituting student evaluations of professors. Some of the ideas – such as open enrollment – are Utopian. But this book addresses many of the university's pressing needs.

INSIDE AMERICAN EDUCATION: THE DECLINE, THE DECEPTION, THE DOGMAS, *by Thomas Sowell (Free Press, 368 pp., $24.95).* If there's anyone out there who doesn't believe that American education is failing its students, this book makes the case with conviction.

Sowell, a senior fellow at the conservative Hoover Institution, sees deception at work and sets out to unveil the dogma or "hidden agendas" behind the decline in American education.

This volume attacks elementary and secondary education and higher education with equal vigor. The first part of the book laments the low intellectual quality of schoolteachers and what Sowell views as "classroom brainwashing" aimed at changing students' values, behavior, and beliefs.

Sowell warns that things may get worse before they get better. "The inevitable retirement of an older generation of teachers and professors must leave the new trends ... as the dominant influence on the shaping of education in the generations to come," he writes. The imminent retirement of a generation of college professors is a serious issue for American colleges and universities, as the following book shows.

THE ART OF HIRING IN AMERICA'S COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, *edited by Ronald H. Stein and Stephen Joel Trachtenberg (Prometheus Books, 188 pp., $32.95)* addresses the concern about future faculty shortages. The book is a collection of essays by university administrators and professors.

The authors point out that "American colleges and universities are facing their most difficult challenge since World War II." Although some researchers are challenging these findings, studies show that the United States may confront a severe faculty shortage by the year 2010.

In the 1960s, colleges added to their faculties to keep up with the enrollment of baby boomers. Now those faculty members are approaching retirement age. The question is whether or not downsizing of colleges will alleviate the need for replacement professors.

Much of this book is written for insiders, complete with specific recommendations on hiring practices. But it raises an important – and widely ignored – issue looming in the future of America's institutions of higher education.

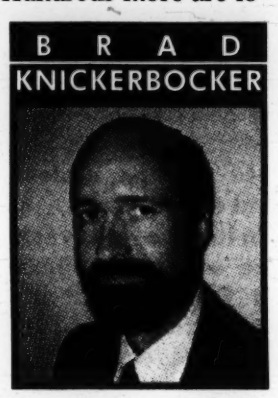
– Laurel Shaper Walters

Heading Off Clashes Over At-Risk Species

IN "A Sand County Almanac" and his other writings, Aldo Leopold had many practical and visionary things to say about the interconnectedness of life on Earth. One of the most important was this: "The first rule of intelligent tinkering is to save all the parts."

This is the essential goal of the recently-announced National Biological Survey to be carried out over the next few years by the United States Department of the Interior. The idea is to consolidate biological research, which is now spread over eight federal bureaus, and to give it greater prominence. With more accurate and complete information, government land managers will be better able to foresee the protection-versus-development problems that loom over hundreds of millions of acres of public and private land.

It's hard to find a place in the United States where such problems do not play a prominent political role. Some, like the encroached-upon Florida Everglades or the dwindling salmon runs of the Pacific Northwest, are well known. Hundreds more are local but no less important to those affected, such as Benton Township in southwestern Michigan, where the endangered Mitchell's satyr butterfly held up construction of a bridge that could bring commerce to an area of high unemployment.



The sum of all the tinkering that's been done to North America over the past two centuries has been the loss – or potential loss – of many of the biological parts. There are now 760 domestic plant and animal species listed as threatened or endangered under the Endangered Species Act. The federal government, under court pressure, has agreed that another 450 species should be listed within the next four years.

Seen in a global context, such numbers are even more troubling. E. O. Wilson, a Harvard University scientist and eminent American expert on biodiversity, estimates that the current rate of extinction worldwide is many, many times the normal "background rate." It's comparable, he says, to five earlier "major extinction spasms" that took millions of years to get over.

In his recent book, "The Diversity of Life," Professor Wilson concludes that within the next 30 years "a 20 percent extinction in total global diversity ... is a strong possibility."

Among lost plants and animals, warns Wilson, may be "keystone species" whose demise can cause habitat communities to collapse. The problem is, no one knows which are the keystone species until after an important part is lost in the tinkering that makes up civilization's impact on biological diversity.

The Endangered Species Act was passed 20 years ago as a safety net for biological resources. But as Congressman Gerry Studds (D) of Massachusetts points out, "You know something is wrong when the safety net begins to clog." Representative Studds chairs the committee that oversees endangered species and the landmark legislation up for reauthorization this year.

Congressional activity on reauthorization promises to be intense. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt has called the act "probably the most revolutionary environmental law of this entire century." This is because once a species is listed, it's a criminal offense to harm either the species or its habitat. When it gets to the point of listing, political and economic clashes are inevitable.

On Earth Day this year, Studds introduced legislation providing the statutory foundation for the National Biological Survey. He calls it "a new and better way of thinking ... an early warning system, providing crucial information that the secretary of the interior needs to anticipate, avoid, and resolve conflicts arising in the implementation of the Endangered Species Act and other fisheries and wildlife conservation laws."

In two recent cases (involving the gnatcatcher in California and the red-cockaded woodpecker in the Southeast), the administration has signaled its intention to head off spotted-owl-type disasters by working with real-estate developers in the first case and the timber industry in the second to preserve habitat. Even better would be what Mr. Babbitt has called "dealing with these issues before a species reaches the emergency room."

Establishing the National Biological Survey is a good first step in this regard. It will help ensure that all the parts are at least accounted for as the inevitable tinkering continues.

LEADERSHIP

Connecticut's Powerful Women

Half the state's congressional delegation is female, making it one of the top five nationwide

By Elizabeth Ross
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

WITH only a half hour to squeeze in an interview before she is to give a talk, United States Rep. Nancy Johnson (R) speaks rapidly and decisively. She radiates so much energy, one wonders if her next activity is a quick jog along the Charles River.

The busy Connecticut lawmaker, here to address a group at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School, is one of several successful women gaining prominence in the male-dominated world of politics.

In local as well as state offices, more and more women in this New England state are running for political office and being elected. Three of Connecticut's six-member House delegation are women. By percentage, that puts Connecticut in the top tier of states represented by women in the House of Representatives.

"For a woman to run for Congress, much less get elected, is the exception to the rule," she says. "We got there because we have already demonstrated leadership and commitment and strength in a way that our male colleagues haven't necessarily had to demonstrate." Some observers predict that Johnson will run for governor next year.

Women have campaigned hard for public office in Connecticut. But besides winning offices, they have taken on key leadership roles. Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D), dean of the state delegation, serves as chief deputy whip in the House. Both Kennelly and Johnson are the only two women who serve on the powerful House Ways and Means Committee. Their colleague, Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D), serves on the Budget Committee.

Despite their growing success in politics, the women bristle at the label "women politicians." They would rather be known as effective leaders in their own right.

"We didn't get to where we are because we are women," Johnson says. "We got there because we're capable leaders."

Over the last 10 years, perceptions have changed somewhat as to the roles women should play as politicians, Johnson notes.

"Both the media and our colleagues tend to be less governed by the assumption that we're there because we're interested in women's and children's issues," Johnson says. "So if you're a woman who comes in with a keen interest in economics, your male colleagues don't come in with a second look."

Nevertheless, they have not shied away from women's issues. Kennelly has been a key leader on child-support enforcement, while Johnson has led the fight for foster-care reform. Representative DeLauro has been a strong advocate for women's health care.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

REP. NANCY JOHNSON: *'We got there because we're capable leaders,' she says of her state's delegates.*

Some women attribute their success to Connecticut's long history of women leaders. Connecticut women were active in the suffrage movement early this century and before. Clare Boothe Luce and Chase Going Woodhouse served in Congress in the 1940s.

ONE of the prominent women leaders in the history of the state was Gov. Ella Grasso (D). Serving from 1974 to 1980, Ms. Grasso was the first woman elected to a governorship who did not succeed her husband.

"I really feel that having Ella Grasso elected in her own right made all the difference," says Representative Kennelly. "Once she crossed that barrier, it really made it so much easier for the rest of us."

And in the state capital of Hartford, the trend continues, with a woman lieutenant governor, Eunice Groark, and a woman secretary of state, Pauline Kezer. Twenty-five percent of the state legislature is female, the 13th-highest percentage nationwide, according to the National Women's Political Caucus in Washington. In the 1990 state legislative elections, 75 women ran for office; last fall, 106 women ran.

One reason more Connecticut women are serving in public office is their local activism. New England's town meeting-style of government, in which all citizens participate, has paved the way for many, Johnson says.

"I think the New England concept of town government and their New England meetings on the budget and things like that," says Johnson, "have resulted in a lot of women being involved in the political process at the town level."

Such activism at the local level brings experience and leads to opportunities for higher office. Kennelly started her political career in community work and eventually became a Hartford city councilor.

"I had knocked on the door of City Hall so often, I decided, 'Why shouldn't I go?' " she recalls. "And that's how it all started. It wasn't planned at all."

Nevertheless, growing up in a politically active family may have helped, too. Kennelly's father, John Bailey, was a legendary state political boss in Connecticut and served as national chairman of the Democratic Party. Representative DeLauro's husband, Stan Greenberg, is President Clinton's chief pollster.

"Many of these women are well-connected politically so they bring a certain amount of power with them," says Harriett Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus.

Yet even if some women are more politically connected, most started their careers at the local level.

State Sen. Catherine Cook (R), for example, kicked off her political career by serving on her local school board for eight years.

"It's only a natural result that we're able to reach higher office because we're prepared for it," Senator Cook says.

These days Cook is tackling important economic concerns in her southeastern district, considered the region of the country most dependent on the defense industry. A ranking member of the state Commerce Committee, she is working on defense conversion and international trade issues. She was recently nominated by Johnson to serve on Clinton's Defense Conversion Committee.

Having women delegates in the state legislature has also changed the work environment somewhat. Recently, Cook helped push forward a requirement that all legislators and their staff be trained on issues of sexual harassment. It wasn't easy, she says.

Key male leaders "don't always look to us as being capable of providing leadership on policy-making issues," she says. "But we're helping them understand that's not true."

Women's Political Successes

BOSTON

A RECORD number of women ran for political office at the federal, state, and local level last fall in the United States. Among their successes:

- Four new women were elected to the US Senate, bringing the number of women senators to a record six.
- Carol Moseley-Braun (D) of Illinois became the first black woman to serve in the US Senate.
- Dianne Feinstein (D) and Barbara Boxer (D) of California are the first Senate delegation that is all women.
- Twenty-four women were elected to the House of Representatives in 1992. Women now hold 47 House seats.
- The congressional delegations of Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, and Nevada are 50 percent women. Connecticut has six House seats total; the other states have two apiece.
- Women hold 20 percent of the seats in state legislatures around the country, up from 18 percent in 1991.
- Three women now serve as governors: Gov. Joan Finney of Kansas, Gov. Ann Richards of Texas, and Gov. Barbara Roberts of Oregon. All are Democrats.

– E. R.

BRITAIN'S BUCKINGHAM PALACE WILL OPEN TO TOURISTS

LONDON

■ Queen Elizabeth II will open part of Buckingham Palace to visitors to help pay for repairing fire damage at Windsor Castle, her staff announced late last week.

The monarch will open parts of the palace for eight weeks in August and September, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Airlie, told reporters.

"Visitors will be able to see the picture gallery and most of the state apartments," which have some of the best of the royal art collection, said Airlie, who is in charge of the royal household.

The plan was yet another concession to changing times by Queen Elizabeth, who agreed last year to pay income tax. The announcement came amid a public uproar over the government's promise to foot the bill for repairing Windsor Castle, which was heavily damaged by fire on Nov. 20.

Starting next year, visitors to Windsor Castle will be charged admission to the castle grounds. There is currently no charge, unless visitors wish to see the royal apartments.

National Heritage Secretary Peter Brooke said in a written statement to Britain's House of Commons that the new charges are expected to meet 70 percent of the cost of repairing Windsor Castle.

The repair cost is estimated between 30 million to 40 million pounds ($47 million to $63 million) over five years, Airlie said.

The fire swept the northwest side of the castle 20 miles west of London. Founded by William the Conqueror, the castle is the queen's favorite weekend home as well as a major tourist attraction, with 630,000 visitors in 1991.

The Times of London recently reported that the number of visitors has risen as a result of the fire. Since the state apartments reopened Jan. 16, almost 140,000 people have passed through the doors, an increase of 20,000 over the same period last year.

Windsor Castle is the largest inhabited castle in the world, covering about 17 acres (7 hectares) and dominating a hill overlooking the River Thames.

– Associated Press

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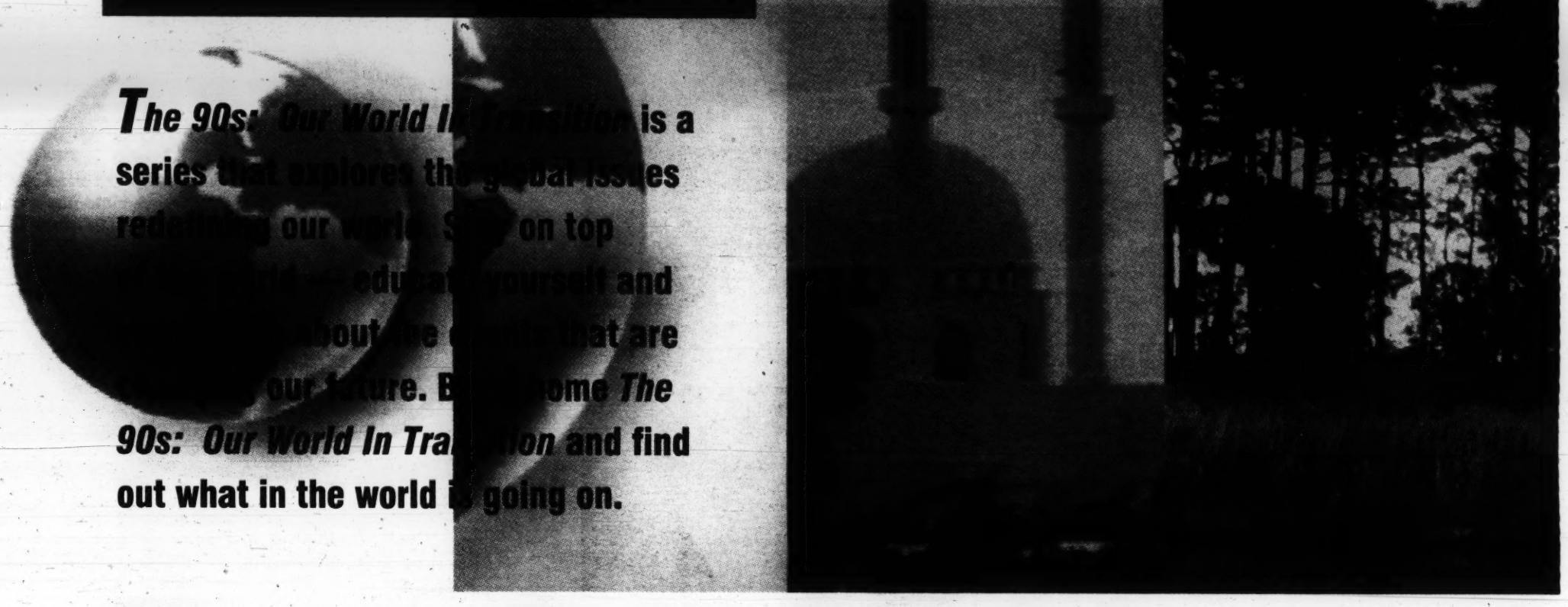

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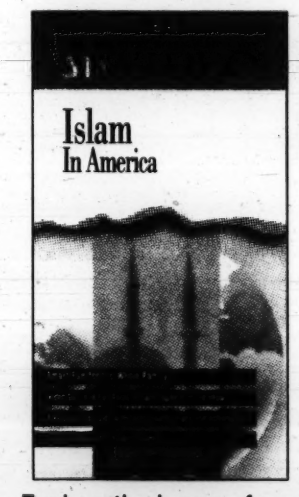

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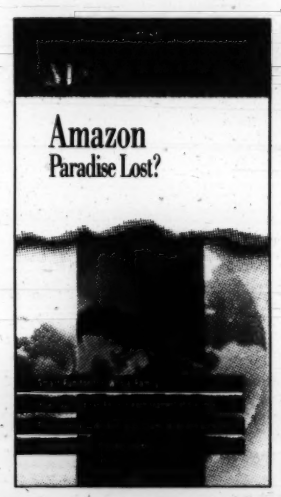

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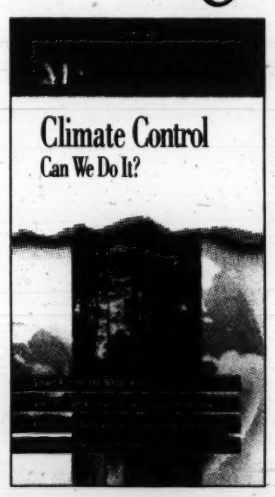

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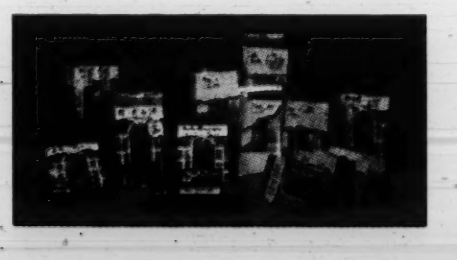

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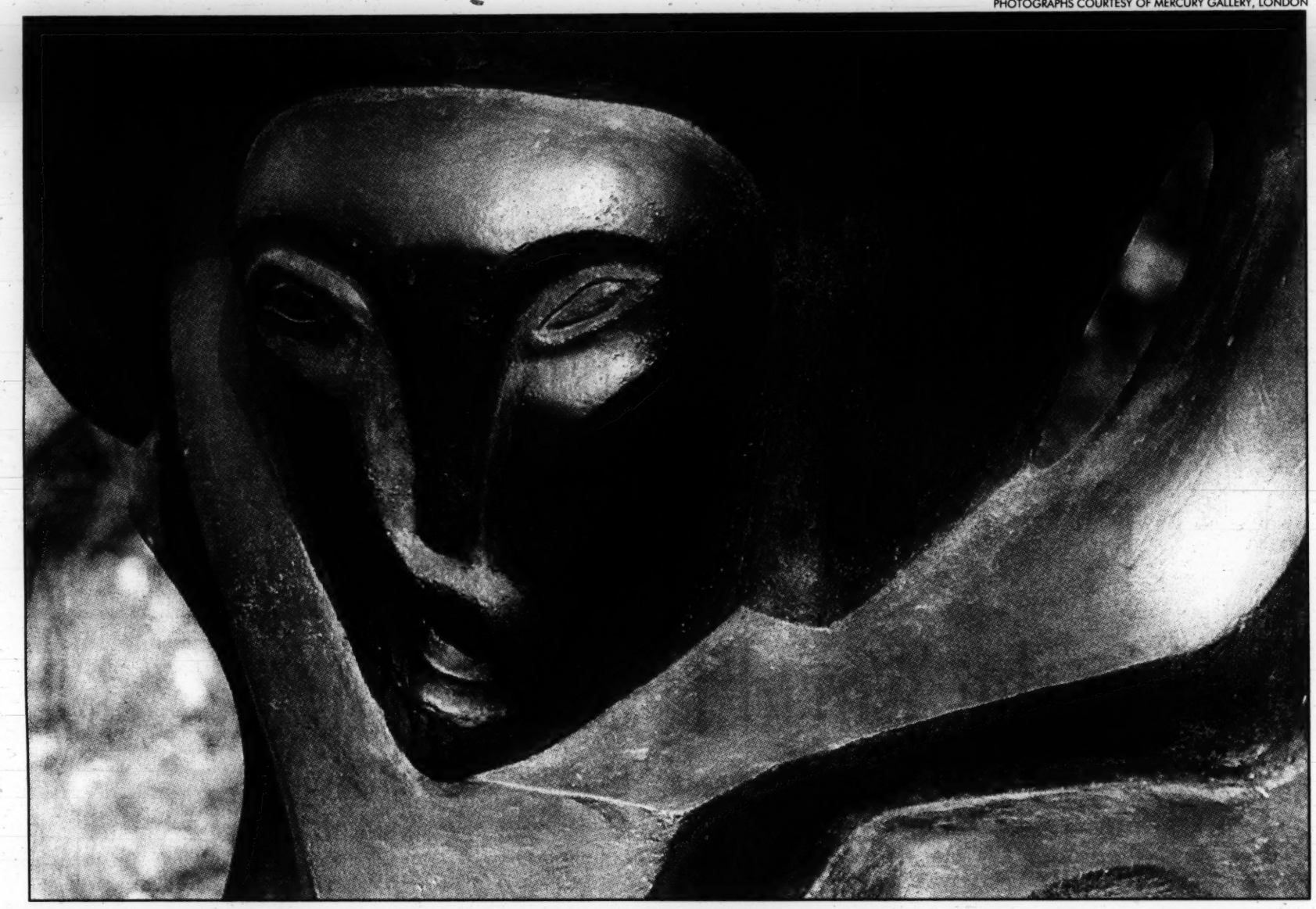

DETAIL FROM 'BIRD BATH' (1992): *Bronze, 72 in. high, enlarged by Jane Truzzi-Franconi from Gaudier-Brzeska's maquette.*

A Bird Bath of Monumental Proportions

'SCULPTURAL energy is the mountain," wrote the young French sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska. It is a statement that helps to explain the character, the monumentality and vigor, of his sculpture "Bird Bath" made in 1914.

"Sculptural feeling is the appreciation of masses in relation," Gaudier continued, in the style of an artist's manifesto. "Sculptural ability is the defining of these masses by planes."

Gaudier wrote these words at the outset of what amounted to a declaration of intent, in an article titled "Vortex" – an excited, instinctive exposition of his ideas about sculpture that was half conviction, half provocation. To read it is to be carried into a whirlpool of words and notions that are in many respects outrageous and obscure.

But to look at the sculptures this burstingly energetic artist was producing at the time – in the years leading up to World War I – is to see his agitated train of thought concentrated into a great originality of formal exploration. He made extraordinary sculptures, carving them with a kind of cocksure directness. His certainty was activated by intense feelings quite as much as by knowledge.

Gaudier wrote his exposition in English; he was fast making his mark in the London art world, working hard to secure a reputation. He had lived in the English capital since 1910 and had been periodically visiting and living in Britain (with stays in Germany and France) since 1906. He was only 22 when he wrote his "Vortex" article. At almost exactly the same time he made his "Bird Bath" in the form of a maquette in plaster 10 3/8 inches high.

Gaudier's statement was written for "Blast," a magazine published in June 1914. (Only two issues came out, the second a year later.) "Blast" was the periodical of a "rebel" group of British artists who dubbed themselves Vorticists.

They aligned themselves with the Italian Futurists and that group's belief in dynamic, fragmenting force and motion, even destructiveness, as the motive for art. Artist Wyndham Lewis and poet Ezra Pound were two of Vorticism's prime movers.

Vorticism was formed as a breakaway from the Omega Workshops, started only the year before by painter and critic Roger Fry. Fry's aim was to bring together avant-garde artists (Gaudier being one of them) to design everyday objects in an advanced style. Fry was also active in introducing his fellow Britons to such artists as Picasso and Matisse, to Cubism and Fauvism, and to the earlier Post-Impressionists, particularly Cézanne.

MAQUETTE FOR 'BIRD BATH' (1914): *Original plaster, 10 3/8 inches high, by Henri Gaudier-Brzeska.*

When Fry and Lewis quarreled, their friends rallied accordingly. But it seems that Gaudier was able to keep a foot in both camps.

One piece of evidence that he maintained a respectful relationship with Fry is the bird-bath sculpture: He made it on commission from Fry. It was to be a focal point in the garden at his house in Surrey, England. One can only guess what Gertrude Jekyll, the renowned Edwardian designer of Fry's garden, might have thought of the extremely modern sculpture Gaudier came up with.

The primitive African feel of the two figures holding up the large bowl is in line not only with Gaudier's own interest in escaping from the dominance of the Greek and Renaissance traditions in sculpture, but also, as Gaudier no doubt astutely realized, in tune with Fry's own ideas.

Fry was to write enthusiastically of an exhibition of African sculpture in 1920. He found that these "nameless savages" had "complete plastic freedom" and "really conceive form in three dimensions." Addressing his English readers, Fry concluded that African artists possessed "the power to create expressive plastic form" not only in a "higher degree than we at this moment, but than we as a nation have ever possessed it."

This essay was to be a stimulus to sculptor Henry Moore and to a whole change in the British view of sculpture. It is not fanciful to think that Gaudier, with his bird bath, so instinctively non-Grecian, played a part in Fry's own convictions as well as vice versa. Both of them, certainly, were aware of the way in which Picasso and other continental artists had much earlier espoused the potency of art language and form from non-European cultures as an antidote to weary 19th-century academicism.

Gaudier indicated by an inscription on the base of the small bird-bath maquette that it was one-sixth the size the sculpture would be when made full-size in bronze. It was, however, to re-

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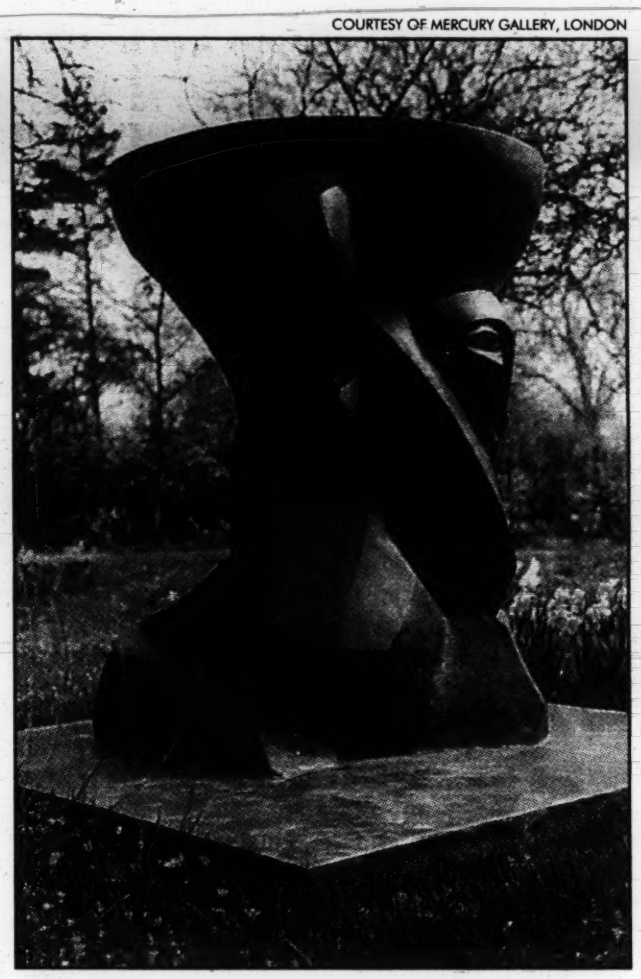

'BIRD BATH': *Seventy-eight years after Gaudier conceived it, the full-size bronze sculpture now stands in a garden.*

main unenlarged and therefore not placed in the context for which it was made.

Presumably the economic stringency of the war years intervened, and in 1919 Fry sold his house and garden, the bird bath still unenlarged. The local bird population never had the chance to perch on the wide rim of the intended monument – truly a bird bath of mountainous cragginess and proportion. And Gaudier himself, about nine months after making the maquette, was killed fighting in the French Army at the front near Arras in northern France.

But, the story does not end here.

To thank for this is Gillian Raffles, director of London's Mercury Gallery, and one of her clients. Mrs. Raffles has been an enthusiastic collector of and dealer in both the drawings and sculptures of Gaudier for several decades. She has watched his reputation grow. She believes that an obscuring web of fiction and romance has been woven round Gaudier; he was the subject of a book by H. S. Ede called "Savage Messiah," later turned into a film. But conversely she does not believe that mythmaking is necessary for a recognition of his worth. His work alone is witness to his quality, originality, and strengths.

The Mercury Gallery had exhibited the bird-bath maquette a number of times since buying it from the Fry family in 1970. The client in question, seeing it in the gallery, came up with the idea of – at last – enlarging the sculpture to its intended size. This had been a secret dream harbored by Mrs. Raffles. So the feasibility of the proposal was investigated and finally Jane Truzzi-Franconi, a young sculptor who has considerable experience in scaling up and of making sculpture for casting in bronze, was commissioned to do the work.

The result is an edition of three full-size bronze bird baths, made 78 years after Gaudier-Brzeska first conceived the sculptural. One is in Raffles's garden. One is in her client's garden in Scotland. And the third – which has yet to find an owner and a home – has just been shipped to Chicago for exhibition at "Art 1993 Chicago, the New Navy Pier Show" (May 5-10), one of three simultaneous art fairs being held in the city. The original maquette will also be on display, along with Gaudier drawings, at the Mercury Gallery's stand.

Although scrupulous measurements and an intense concentration on every facet and detail of the original plaster maquette are necessary to the enlargement of a sculpture, this can never be a purely mechanical process. This is particularly so when the sculptor is no longer present for consultation.

The enlarger needs to understand as far as possible the artist's sensibilities, intentions, and – by studying other works by him – such things as the way one facet of a form edges over into another. Is an edge sharp and aggressive, like a cliff, or more softly felt, like something organic?

Truzzi-Franconi found that Gaudier's edges didn't "drop off like a cliff" but met in a "softer way." So she found herself "working from two sides of it and sort of pushing yourself towards an edge rather than rushing up to it and dropping over." She was also sensitive to the differences of medium, plaster and bronze. The maquette was not "a highly finished piece" and the aim was to keep, in the bronze, some of the "tool marks" and "texture" of it.

"You have to understand what the person was doing," Truzzi-Franconi says, "but also be able to do it their way." It's not the same as a "machine thing.... It's a working process, isn't it?"

"When I started working on the Gaudier-Brzeska," she adds, "it was odd: It didn't quite make sense. But it made more and more sense – and by the end of it I thought it made entirely good sense. The whole thing pulled together."

It was clear that the privilege and labor of enlarging "Bird Bath," requiring such exhaustive attention to every nuance and facet of it, has given Jane Truzzi-Franconi a considerable respect for Gaudier-Brzeska. She apparently found no weak spots in this work.

Christopher Andreae

Surviving

('Everything is balanced on a wire stretched tight across the obvious.' – K. J.)

Here as I go, no song bird
calls to me. Yet this
emptiness cannot turn
white silence into a lament.
Even when history dies, nothing falls
into the literal. Blue winter
skies invent
the future clean as mountain water cupped
within the hands and lifted to the mouth.
I survive,
finding the lovely and the funny – one.
My clothes grow quainter as I amble north.
I'm not looking down.
For the first
time I'm seeing. At last
the news behaves. The seasons meld. I wave
the moon awake
with sudden the vision of a summer child.

Godfrey John

Sudden Calm

ONE hot summer day the family was taking a short trip that had gotten too long. The children had turned the back seat into a very rowdy and unhappy playground, and Dad, who was driving, was being unintentionally kicked in the back. Mom could see that Dad's patience—with the children and with the traffic—was being tested.

She felt inexperienced at praying, but it seemed a good idea to make an attempt to pray, as this situation could easily ruin the day. The only thing she could remember about prayer had to do with quiet, and in that car there wasn't anything that could pass for quiet or calm. Then an idea came: the children had been attending the Christian Science Sunday School; what had they learned there?

She remembered, from the first chapter of Genesis in the Bible, how God had made man perfect and good. One statement she recalled as she prayed says: "And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."

When the rowdy activity got suddenly even more aggressive, Mom spoke—*quietly.* She asked the children: "What did you learn in Sunday School about God making you perfect and good?" Silence. Then a little giggle echoed around the car. Well Mom was not going to sit there and have a good concept giggled at, so she turned on her official you'd-better-listen voice and explained what was now obvious to her: "God made you good, and there is no power other than God. But even if you don't think you can be the good child God made—ACT LIKE IT ANYHOW!"

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Then everybody, including Dad, really laughed.

The peace that descended was immediate. I thought about how it must have been when Christ Jesus stilled the storm by commanding "Peace, be still." Mark's Gospel in the Bible records, "There was a great calm." In the car, all the fussing simply ended, and a special atmosphere of Love prevailed. Giggles continued to escape from time to time, the traffic cleared, the kicking stopped, the bickering ended, and the family got an unexpected ride on a ferry boat, ice cream, and hot dogs before that day was all over. Everybody really had a great time.

More important, Mom learned a little more about prayer and how it is right now the solution to any problem. In *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures,* Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer of Christian Science, writes: "The prayer that reforms the sinner and heals the sick is an absolute faith that all things are possible to God,—a spiritual understanding of Him, an unselfed love. Regardless of what another may say or think on this subject, I speak from experience. Prayer, watching, and working, combined with self-immolation, are God's gracious means for accomplishing whatever has been successfully done for the Christianization and health of mankind." A little further on she continues: "Desire is prayer; and no loss can occur from trusting God with our desires, that they may be moulded and exalted before they take form in words and in deeds."

The experience in the car has had an ongoing effect. Mom was immensely impressed with an idea that could "peacify" a back seat. And this family has learned over the years that prayer can meet every need. These children are now grown and have children of their own, but that incident and mother's words still bring a smile and gently let erring ones know that they are expected to straighten up—and that they have the dominion to do that, because God is the only power.

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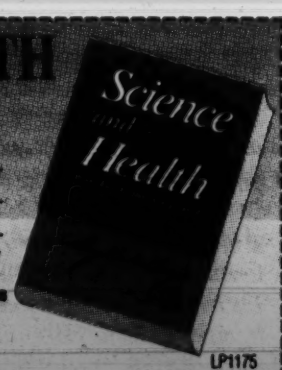

Needed: a Score Card On National Growth

By Hazel Henderson

ONE of President Clinton's less-noticed Earth Day executive orders was to speed up the efforts of the Bureau of Economic Analysis to correct the gross domestic product (GDP) by including environmental accounting. This is long overdue, and even so, another year will pass before a "greener" GDP will emerge.

Why is the correction of GDP (and its broader cousin, GNP, or gross national product) so important? Because GDP and GNP were adopted back in World War II to help focus efforts on maximizing war production. So these indicators, which we use as overall measures of "progress," value bombs, bullets, and tanks very highly while setting at zero the value of the environment, as well as education, human resources, and our infrastructure (roads, rails, public buildings).

No wonder this kind of accounting threw our further economic growth off-course and produced today's rising backlog of social and environmental costs. The bills for all this illusory economic growth are now coming due. For example, the Department of Energy and the Department of Defense have just announced that cleaning up their toxic waste sites will cost $400 billion over the next 30 years.

We need to account for our country's infrastructure on the books, so as to have a national 'net worth' statement.

Mr. Clinton, sensibly following the advice of Vice President Al Gore Jr., has decided it's time to get the national accounts straightened out so this sort of thing won't happen again. As I and others have pointed out, GDP and GNP still add all these cleanup costs to the plus side – as if they were useful production. So, in effect, oil spills, releases of toxic wastes, and auto accidents all increase the GDP. The new "greener" GDP will help avoid these kinds of mistakes in the future.

In addition, the corrected GDP will help guide the economy toward properly pricing valuable natural resources, such as trees, and costing out pollution ahead of time. This, in turn, will allow recycled materials and products to compete with those made from newly extracted raw materials. And it will make prices reflect more of the true costs of production.

But Clinton should not stop there. We're not the only ones who need to correct the GDP to reflect environmental costs and benefits. All the 178 countries that signed Agenda 21, the major agreement of the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, also agreed to make the same corrections to their GDP accounts, so as to keep the global playing field level.

In addition, we need to account for our country's infrastructure on the books, so as to have a national "net worth" statement, just as companies do. As we try to cut the deficit, we need to be sure that we have a correct account of it. If our infrastructure is not included as an asset, we may actually cut too deeply.

Similarly, GDP needs a poverty-gap measure, since often, in many countries, rising GDPs mask greater inequity in incomes. Averaging incomes per capita, as GDP does, means a country could have a few billionaires while everyone else is poor.

Why not a new American score card to account for progress toward all the major goals of the electorate, including education, health care, and the environment. An April 1993 survey by the Americans Talk Issues Foundation asked if Americans would like such a new national score card to hold politicians accountable for progress toward these overall quality-of-life goals, as well as GDP and economic numbers. Seventy-two percent favored this proposal.

Such a new score card for progress toward America's goals would help people score the game for themselves and keep the politicians on their toes.

■ *Hazel Henderson is a development policy analyst and a member of the original advisory council of the US Office of Technology Assessment. Her latest book is "Paradigms in Progress: Life Beyond Economics."*

OPINION/ESSAYS

The US, IMF, and other lenders are working to apply lessons learned from Latin America's debt crisis to Russia

Tailoring Russian Aid

By Enrique R. Carrasco

A DECADE after the eruption of the "third-world debt crisis," politicians, academics, and others are discussing foreign debt once again with a sense of urgency. This time the foreign debt at issue is not that of Latin American countries. It is Russia's external debt of about $80 billion.

It appears that President Clinton and supporters such as Sen. Bill Bradley (D) of New Jersey have taken Latin America's "lost decade" into account in formulating United States policy regarding Russia's debt crisis.

Mr. Clinton has stressed the importance of protecting the welfare of the Russian people as they face economic structural adjustment. He has also focused on a theme all but ignored in Latin America during the past decade: the "people to people" approach.

Russia's debt crisis originated with "*perestroika* loans" that official Western creditors and foreign commercial banks made to Soviet enterprises during a period of increased decentralization. Between 1985 and 1990, the former Soviet Union's external debt more than doubled. Official creditors, to whom Russia owes approximately $40 billion, have recently agreed to restructure $15 billion in external debt due this year.

Deputy Prime Minister Alexander Shokhin, Russia's chief debt negotiator, is now in the midst of debt restructuring negotiations with 600 or so commercial bank creditors (the "London Club"), to whom Russia owes approximately $20 billion.

Latin Americans know all too well the challenges the Russian people face. During the 1970s many of them borrowed heavily from foreign commercial banks that were eager to recycle "petrodollars" profitably. During the global recession of the early 1980s these countries faced a severe liquidity crisis. Starting in 1982, one Latin American debtor country after another declared that it could no longer continue to service its external debt. Instead of repudiating their debt, most Latin American countries eventually adopted a cooperative approach with their foreign creditors. Debtor countries restructured bilateral, government-to-government debt through the Paris Club. They also engaged in case-by-case debt restructuring negotiations with their foreign commercial bank creditors.

In return for new loans, reduced interest rates, and longer repayment periods, debtor countries agreed to structural adjustment programs designed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

These programs emphasize "free market" reforms such as free trade with other nations, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and deregulation of the domestic markets. Most Latin American countries are thus abandoning the inward-looking, statist model of development known as "import substitution."

This cooperative approach has been relatively successful. The major lending banks have not collapsed. Latin American debtor countries appear to have their external debt under control and are embracing economic liberalism.

THE Brady Initiative, introduced in the late 1980s by former Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, has provided further debt relief for several major debtor countries including, most recently, Brazil. In 1991, Latin America enjoyed a positive net resource transfer for the first time since the onset of the debt crisis. Under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative the US has, among other things, forgiven official debt owed by several Latin American countries and authorized debt-for-nature or debt-for-development swaps of rescheduled official debt.

Mexico hopes to propel its economy forward through the North American Free Trade Agreement, and Chile is next in line. To top this all off, observers have applauded the withdrawal of Latin America's military from the political arena. Democratically elected governments go hand in hand with free markets.

This transformation has exacted enormous social costs, however. During the 1980s, Latin American debtor countries made net outward transfers of $25 billion annually. Poverty increased as the gap between the rich and the poor widened. Children, women, and the elderly suffered disproportionately. No one can forget the riots in Venezuela, sparked by that country's austerity program, that killed hundreds of people in 1989. Nor should we forget the street children in Brazil who are being murdered because they have nowhere to go. Peru, whose free-market-minded president assumed dictatorial powers a year ago, is the most recent illustration of this phenomenon.

Clinton recognizes the risk that Russia's vulnerable groups, like those in Latin America, will ultimately subsidize the costly transition to economic and political liberalism. The $1.6 billion pledged at the Vancouver Summit and the proposal made during the G-7 meeting in Tokyo for an additional $1.8 billion in aid illustrate his recognition that without substantial foreign aid Russia is likely to go the route of Peru or Chile. In a recent speech he noted, "Our goal must be to ensure that the Russian people soon come to feel that they are the beneficiaries of reform and not its victims."

He has correctly emphasized the importance of reform that is "tangible" to the Russian people. Moreover, he and Senator Bradley have called for humanitarian relief for needy groups in Russia.

Even the IMF recognizes the costs and risks associated with structral adjustment; its executive board approved the creation of a "systemic transformation facility" that would enable Russia and other former Soviet republics to qualify for IMF assistance despite their inability to meet the Fund's otherwise stringent criteria.

Nongovernmental organizations must play a greater role in Russia's resolution of its debt crisis and the future of its structural adjustment than they did in Latin America in the 1980s. These and other citizens' groups can press Russia's official and private foreign creditors for debt-for-development swaps. The "menu of options" approach to commercial debt restructuring can be used to establish a "human capital investment facility." These are just a few of the many ways that the grass-roots movement can promote a participatory development process in Russia and thereby avoid the mistakes that led to Latin America's lost decade.

■ *Enrique R. Carrasco is an associate professor at the University of Iowa, College of Law. He was formerly an attorney in private practice and represented Latin American debtor countries.*

Give a False Start to the 100-Day Dash

By Eugene J. McCarthy

ON Jan. 21, the day after President Clinton was inaugurated, the Washington Post declared that the "clock" was ticking on Mr. Clinton's 100-day plan.

After stating that the first 100 days was a "self-conscious, sometimes silly standard for measuring presidents," the Post proceeded to apply that standard. Even though as a candidate Clinton had invited a judgment on his first 100 days, that invitation should never have been taken seriously by the press when it was offered, or when the 100-day deadline was reached. Nor should it be accepted as a standard for historical judgment, as it was in a recent article by historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Presidential candidates should not first be encouraged to make irresponsible, unreliable promises or projections in campaigns and then subsequently judged for having made them. Applying the first-100-days standard as a measure of the success or failure of the Clinton administration is not only unobjective but also unfair.

It is unobjective in that the measurement is against the first 100 days of the Roosevelt administration. Franklin Roosevelt's 100 days did not begin until March 4. Clinton's began on Jan. 20. Roosevelt's measurement did not begin until 116 days after his election. Clinton's began 72 days after his. Roosevelt's 100th day did not arrive until mid-June. Clinton's time ran out about the first of May, giving Roosevelt approximately 44 more days following his election than are being given to Clinton.

JEFF DANZIGER – STAFF

Roosevelt undoubtedly made some tentative decisions before he was sworn in as president, but he made no official or binding ones until after March 4. Clinton, by virtue of the "lame duck" amendment to the Constitution, passed in 1933, was called upon to make official decisions in February.

Why the amendment was passed is unclear. There was no record of constitutional or government crisis in any way related to the March inauguration date. There was no prospect of such crisis in 1933.

February is not a good month for decisionmaking. It is not a month distinguished by any significant natural phenomenon. It has no equinox, as do March and September, and no solstice, as do December and June. It is not named after a god, an emperor, or even a number. For the ancients it was a month of purification. The Romans dedicated February to the nether world: During February they worshipped Pluto and their dead ancestors.

In medieval times, February was looked upon as a dangerous month. Even a good February was suspect. "All the months in the year curse a fair February" runs a Welsh proverb. "February bears the bier," wrote the poet Shelley.

Even the animals shun decisionmaking in February. It is a month of deep hibernation. Bodily and mental functions are at the lowest level of the year. Only the groundhog, by reputation, breaks the pattern, and then only for a quick look for his shadow. His response is not reflective, but automatic. If he sees his shadow he hibernates for another six weeks, according to most groundhog experts. A few years ago a groundhog, found in Wisconsin in February, had a body temperature of 38 degrees and a pulse count of 10 per minute. Higher mammals, especially in cold climates, are comparably sluggish.

There is a further reason for questioning the Jan. 20 inauguration date: March 4 is a much better date for holding an outdoor inauguration.

Since we cannot repeal February, we should repeal the 22nd Amendment. Until that is done, no newly elected president should be encouraged to make decisions in February, held responsible for decisions made in that month, or compared with Roosevelt's pre-22nd Amendment record.

Clinton attempted twice without success in February to nominate and have an attorney general confirmed. He succeeded only after March had come.

■ *Eugene J. McCarthy, a former US senator, is author of "A Colony of the World: The US Today," (Hippocrene Books, New York, 1992)*

Congressional Reforms Won't Stifle Call for Term Limits

By Norman Leahy

THE growing success of term limits, Ross Perot, and the death of gridlock now leave Congress with no alternative but to pass a campaign reform package. That doesn't mean lawmakers have changed their stripes: Congress will not pass any real reform package now or anytime soon. The public knows this. That is why voters are fighting back with term limits.

Sen. David Boren (D) of Oklahoma, the main advocate of campaign reform in the Senate, said, "Unless we pass campaign finance, lobbying, and congressional reform, I think the term-limit movement will gather steam and become unstoppable. The status quo is not an option. If we don't deal with these matters, people will do so with term limits."

Senator Boren's colleagues are uncomfortable with such comparisons, but they know they have to look busy on reform, and campaign finance is the easiest way for them to do so.

Even if Congress passes some type of campaign reform bill, it won't address the fundamental problem of the institution, namely, that it has become careerist: Lawmakers are obsessed with reelection, to the detriment of political courage and public policy. That is why so many people are turning to term limits as the best first step to better government.

And that is why term limits are the reform incumbents love to hate. Congress is afraid to even debate the issue: It will only look bad trying to press forward its reform packages in the face of the people's chosen reform.

Boren and his allies have enough difficulty when it comes to changing the way incumbents raise and spend money, let alone passing a reform bill that will divert the people from term limits. Since 1979, when the last changes in the current campaign laws were made, congressional Democrats have had the luxury of operating under divided government. This allowed them to propose increasingly outlandish campaign reform bills – some calling for as much as 90 percent public financing – and to pass mediocre bills like the one vetoed last year by President Bush.

MEANWHILE, President Clinton, realizing that he can't sell voters an incumbent protection plan, is expected to propose this week a bill that contains cosmetic spending and donation limits. Some Capitol Hill staff members close to the campaign finance bill say that Mr. Clinton's bill is "a sop to Common Cause," and that the president is "more interested in having his campaign promises covered in the first 100 days than he is in a real reform package."

Moreover, the House is still obsessed with the idea that if it passes a reform bill, some lawmakers could lose their seats in the next election – certainly an incentive for short-sighted, PAC-addicted members to stall for time.

Even the provisions of H.R.3, which would give up to $200,000 in taxpayer subsidies to House candidates, make incumbents nervous. Rep. Robert Torricelli (D) of New Jersey told the New York Times: "Simply capping expenditures will stifle the discussion of issues." Rep. Vic Fazio (D) of California, who as the head of the Democratic congressional campaign organization must raise the millions of dollars Democrats need to run their races, told the Wall Street Journal: "It's not something people are demanding tomorrow, like jobs.... If we have to err on the side of taking more time, we ought to."

The voters may not give them much time. The persistently vocal presence of Mr. Perot and the fact that voters in 15 states have passed term-limit laws that now cover more than one-third of the members of Congress put pressure on politicians to pass some sort of reform bill, even one that protects the status quo as much as H.R.3.

These are not serious reform proposals: They are a smoke screen intended to make everyone think things have been changed, when in fact they have simply solidified the status quo. Any real change in congressional campaign practices, like term limits, would severely weaken the hold incumbents have on their seats. For many of them, such a thought is unconscionable.

So while the Senate begins to try and staunch the impending term-limit flood, the rest of Congress will go quietly about the business of running for reelection, ignoring that the people would rather have – and are working toward – term limits for every one of them.

■ *Norman Leahy is research director of the US Term Limits Foundation.*

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Rebirth for Everglades

UNITED States Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt, former governor of Arizona, is accustomed to wide horizons.

His new position in President Clinton's Cabinet provides plenty of opportunity to think big, and that's just what Mr. Babbitt is doing in regard to his job as the overseer of the nation's natural resources.

Babbitt has scanned the horizon and decided to take on one of the biggest and most endangered areas to develop a model that can be applied to many situations, not only in the US, but also in third-world nations.

Babbitt has chosen to focus on the huge, diverse, and badly mistreated Florida Everglades. His thesis is that many of the nation's varied regions have common characteristics and problems and can profit by the example of the projected program, which will tackle the vast Everglades ecosystem, of which Everglades National Park is a major component.

The interior secretary is not alone in seeing common, or at least comparable, situations in "ecosystems" in all sections of the country. Natural resources agencies, such as the US Army Corps of Engineers – in past years the great straightener of streams and drainer of wetlands – appear to have seen the error of past ways.

The Everglades have been not only allowed to deteriorate over past decades, but wantonly abused.

According to one Everglades official, the entire system could "fail' (degrade beyond the point of reversal) within 20 years.

It is estimated that the price for restoring a reasonably large part of the Everglades would be from about $400 million to $600 million, and at this point the project is not assured of funding even at the lower figure.

One thing Babbitt does have is strong backing by the professionals involved with Everglades National Park and the larger Everglades ecosystem.

Funding or not, they have already begun to make plans. An initial planning meeting was held in April, and another will take place early this month.

The 1.4 million-acre Everglades Park was established in 1947.

But the true size (nearly 3 million acres) and ecological significance of this complex wetland have only recently been understood.

Babbitt's policy of considering whole systems rather than seeking to protect individual species has struck a resonating chord in the environmental movement.

This initiative deserves the encouragement of all who recognize the value of our natural resources.

And Mr. Clinton needs to make clear his commitment to this effort.

You've come a long way, baby...

Worthy Goals for Access to College

THIS week President Clinton sends to Congress two bills that promise big changes in the way students pay for a college education. The president's objectives have merit.

Announced on Friday, the National Service Plan is driven by the twin ideals of expanding access to higher education and fostering a sense of community responsibility. Open to people at least 17 years old with a high school diploma or equivalent, the plan would grant $5,000 toward tuition in exchange for one year of full-time public service work. The maximum grant: $10,000 for two years' service. While working, participants would earn $4.25 an hour, 85 percent of which would be paid by the federal government, the rest by state or local agencies. States would be allocated "slots" based on population, which they would assign to specific projects. State and federal governments would monitor the program for fraud or abuse.

According to the College Board, the average annual cost of a college education at a four-year public college hit $7,584 in the 1991-92 school year, or $30,336 for four years. A $10,000 grant would clearly make that expense more manageable.

The second bill seeks to reform the federally insured student-loan program, for the most part by eliminating middlemen: Students apply for the loan, the school determines the level of aid, as it does now, and the federal Education Department writes the check. The loan repayment schedule would be determined by salary and could be collected through payroll deductions.

This approach is designed to cut costs. Defaults on student loans run at about $3 billion a year, and the government subsidizes banks and other lenders to keep interest rates below market levels. Initially, the government would fund the program through bonds; ultimately, it is to pay for itself.

Both programs would be phased in, taking full effect in 1997. Advocates should be willing to stretch that period if problems arise. They also should give serious consideration to alternatives: The Coalition of Student Loan Reform, whose members have a stake in the current system, has offered a plan that seeks to meet objections to the current program without cutting the private sector's role.

Money Is Not the Solution to Intelligence Flaws

LETTERS

Regarding the editorial "Be Intelligent After the Cold War," April 16: If money were the only issue, you might be right to endorse the Clinton administration's extraordinary plan to increase the CIA and other intelligence budgets – at $28 billion – more than the federal budget for education. But money is only symptomatic of the problem. All of the spies and satellites money could buy did not prevent the disasters of Vietnam and Iran, where we clung to regimes out of touch with their own populations.

The Clinton administration is now making two equally serious mistakes. It is much too partisan and intrusive in its support for Boris Yeltsin in the hope that he will impose our version of the free market (and concessions to Western businesses), despite the hardship this is causing. We deliberately overlook the increasingly dictatorial nature of his rule and lump together his moderate constitutional opponents with the extremists. The result is likely to be dictatorship by Mr. Yeltsin or by his most vehement opponents.

Likewise, in the Middle East, the Clinton administration, in its unbalanced support for Israel, is alienating the Arab world and fueling the very fundamentalism it fears. Cloaks and daggers and their electronic equivalents cannot prevent these errors. They only feed the illusions that give rise to a manipulative foreign policy that fails to address the basic issues.

David Keppel *Essex, Conn.*

Congress's tactics of sabotage

Regarding the front-page article "Clinton Digs In on Stimulus Plan," April 15: The Republican filibuster of Clinton's economic-stimulus package is one more example of how political infighting makes effective democracy scarce in America. The author is correct in stating that although the plan contains little in the way of real economic stimuli, it is important in setting the tone for acceptance of Clinton's more radical health-care system overhaul.

Republicans realize this, together with the fact that economic failure during Clinton's term will be attributed to Clinton alone and not to congressional bungling. This happened to Bush in his last year, and it played a large part in his loss of public approval. The tactic of sabotaging is used by both parties and does little to improve the public's perception of Congress.

It is despicable when the plan was as good as mandated by the people in electing Clinton last November.

Patrick Gaston *Colorado Springs, Colo.*

Justice for abused children

Your editorial "Child Abuse and Vigilante 'Justice'," April 15, presents a "high minded" view from the comfortable height of the ivory tower.

However, you entirely neglect the cause of the vigilante justice administered at the hands of the frustrated mother who summarily executed the previously convicted child molester recently charged with molesting several more children, including her son.

Having been in the "trenches" representing young, helpless victims of child molesters, I understand the great frustration with the law enforcement and justice systems when they continue to fail child victims time and time again.

Until the system shows that it can work quickly and effectively in this volatile field, I believe we will continue to face the possibility that child predators who "smirk" at their victims while awaiting "kid glove" treatment in the legal system will die at the hands of their victims.

David J. Reese *Reno, Nev.*

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.